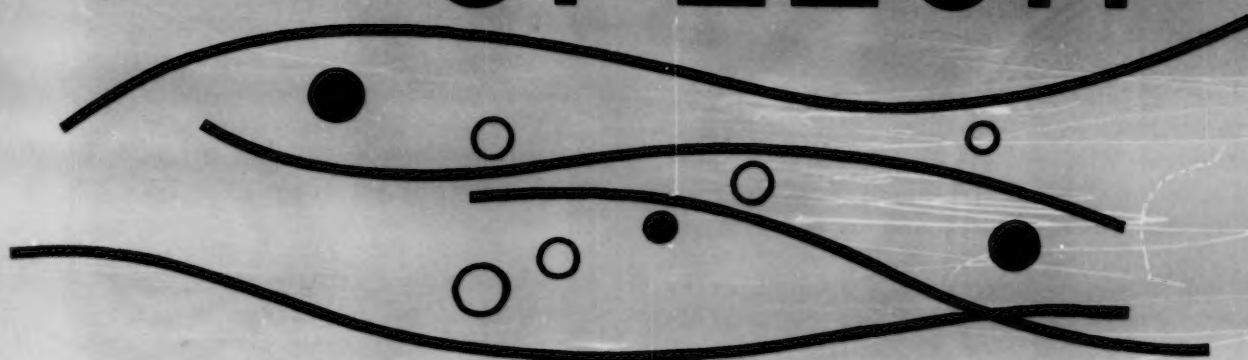


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TODAY'S SPEECH



CARLOS P. ROMULO, ORATOR

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Column One	
An Editorial	Inside-Front Cover
Carlos P. Romulo, Orator	
LIONEL CROCKER	1
The Role of Speech in Psychological Warfare	
W. R. UNDERHILL	4
Khrushchev: Consistent or Contradictory?	
HENRY L. EWBANK, JR. and ELDON E. BAKER	8
Thinking and Speaking About Causes	
OTIS M. WALTER	12
John L. Lewis: The Oratory of Pity and Indignation	
MARY BRIGID GALLAGHER, R.S.M.	15
The Light Touch of C. Northcote Parkinson	
ANTHONY HILLBRUNER	17
Study-Discussion: Education Tailored to Adults	
JOHN K. BRILHART	19
The Preacher and His Vocal Equipment	
ROBERT CLYDE YARBROUGH	22
Conversation As a Key to the Understanding of Human Nature	
ROBERT T. OLIVER	25
Advice to Parliamentarians	
TED J. McLAUGHLIN	27
Book Reviews	32
Services, Sales, and Swaps	33
Our Readers Write	34
Volume 9	September 1961
	Number 3

COLUMN ONE

Subscription rates

Elsewhere TODAY'S SPEECH carries a notice of an increase in subscription rates. Like all other magazines our publication has had to meet increased costs. For some time the price charged subscribers has been less than the cost of publication and mailing. Even at the new rates a subsidy will continue to be necessary. In addition to the generous support given by the Speech Association of the Eastern States other financial help has been given by the University of Pittsburgh and by numerous individuals. All members of the editorial staff serve without pay.

Subscribers are invited to support the magazine by helping to find new subscribers. Those who are most interested in the field of speech are invited to become regular members or sustaining members of the Association.

Letters

Your Editor welcomes your comments, be they in the form of orchids or brickbats. Our readers are also interested in subscriber reactions. Won't you please write to us—temperately or intemperately—so that we may share your views? This month we publish several letters.

Distinction

TODAY'S SPEECH is now listed in *Ayer Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals*, *The International Guide*, and *America's Educational Press*. Listing is under consideration by Standard Rate and Data, Inc., and *Education Index*.

What to Look For in November

Charles R. Petrie and Ernest Thompson write "In Defense of Speech."

The arguments about slavery that led to war are described by Harold J. O'Brien, a timely article for the Civil War's centennial celebration.

Those who fear public speaking experiences will appreciate "Scared?" by Wade Curry.

Leone J. Marinello writes interestingly of "Robert Frost's Inaugural Dedication."

Continued on page 31

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LIONEL CROCKER
Chairman, Department of Speech
Denison University

CARLOS P. ROMULO, ORATOR

PART I

One of the most significant political facts of the first half of the twentieth century is the granting of independence to the Philippines on July 4, 1946. In less than fifty years the United States transformed the Philippines from an exploited Spanish colony to a self-governing democracy. But when Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States for twenty million dollars at the turn of the century, the Filipinos thought they were being handed over from one exploiter to another. Emilio Aguinaldo and his guerrillas harassed the Americans for three years. The father of Carlos P. Romulo was one of these "insurrectionists." Thus, early in his life, Carlos P. Romulo learned to hate the United States through the words and deeds of his father. Only gradually as the intent of the United States became apparent, expressed through its educational program and through justice meted out to those who mistreated the Filipinos, were this fear and distrust relaxed and finally removed. And as boatload after boatload of teachers and administrators, imbued with democratic principles, poured into the Philippines, there gradually developed a new democracy in the Far East. Americans through a public school system put democracy to work educating the rank and file and discovering potential leaders. One of these young men, who learned to respect the United States and who was destined to carry his share of the burdens of the new democracy, to speak its praise in high places, and to take his place around the council tables of the world, was Carlos P. Romulo.

The granting of independence to the Philippines is important also for it showed the Far East that their fellow Asians could be free and govern themselves. Imperialism, exploitation, and racial superiority began to give way before this mighty fact. The story of America's relationship with the Philippines, with all its implications, needed a chronicler and a herald. The son of a converted "insurrectionist" took on the task. How proud the Philippines and America are of Carlos P. Romulo!

HIS PLATFORM SPEECHES

His speeches help complete the picture Carlos P. Romulo has painted of the meaning for the world of

America's experiment in democracy in the Philippines. The spoken word has always been Carlos P. Romulo's primary and most effective weapon in battling for truth, peace, and justice. When he abandoned his own campaign for the presidency of the Philippines in 1953 and joined forces with Magsaysay, his car was stopped in the middle of Taft Avenue in Manila by a crowd of disappointed students, who cried out, "General, why did you do this to us? Why did you let us down?" To answer these questions, he campaigned up and down the islands. He said, "I had to find a way to explain. As always, my only medium was the platform." Romulo knew what Hitler knew and explained in *Mein Kampf*, that the spoken word could be mightier than the written word in reaching the masses.

His speeches emerge from the heat of the platform where speaker, audience, and occasion combine to find the truth. In his speeches are his battles in the United Nations, his fight for the independence of the peoples of Asia, his interpretation of the role of the Philippines since Independence Day, July 4, 1946, his speaking before various organizations in America. Romulo believes in the power of the spoken word to change men's minds and hearts. As part of his heritage derived from his American education in the Philippines he was trained to debate in high school and college. Training in public speaking is an integral part of the American school system and is necessary to the functioning of democracy. He said, "Oratory had become one of my pet subjects,—even one of my passions." At Columbia University, when he was studying for his M.A. in English, he joined the debate team. When he appeared on the television program *Meet the Press*, he was challenged with, "Isn't it true, General, that all you did in Bandung was to produce words, words, words?" He answered this challenge in his speech before the National War College on June 1, 1955, "That is true. He is absolutely right. In Bandung we did produce words. He was correct. And so is the Declaration of Independence, and so is the Rights of Man, and so is the Magna Charta of England, and so is the Atlantic Charter, the Gettysburg Address, the United Nations Charter—all words. But they are words that have a singular effect on history, because

at a given moment in the history of humankind those words profoundly affect man's thoughts and direct man's mind." It is because Romulo believes so much in the power of the spoken word that his speeches are important.

The speeches studied for this paper cover the period from 1944 to 1957, but it is as if his entire life had been one of gradual preparation for this mastery of the spoken word. After receiving his B.A. in English from the University of the Philippines, he journeyed to Columbia University where he earned his M.A. in English. On returning home, he was made an Assistant Professor of English at his Alma Mater in 1923. He rose to be Acting Head of the Department and Professorial Lecturer in American Literature by 1928.

2 He combined a newspaper career with his teaching. He was perfecting his mastery of English and preparing for his role in world affairs by being Associate Editor of the Philippines *Herald* in 1922 and Editor in 1923. He was Editor of the Manila *Tribune* in 1930, and Editor-in-Chief of the Manila *Tribune* in 1931 (daily paper in English), *La Vanguardia* (daily in Spanish), and *Mabuhay* (daily in Tagalog). He was publisher of the DMHM newspapers, *Daily Mail*, *Herald* (English daily) and *Mabuhay* (Tagalog daily) from 1933 to 1941. In addition to his work on newspapers in the Philippines, he became director of radio stations KZRM and KZRF.

ROMULO AND MACARTHUR

With such a command of mass communications and such a grasp of world affairs, and such a familiarity with the English language, it is not surprising that General MacArthur suggested to Carlos P. Romulo that he gather information on the attitude of the subject peoples of the Far East toward the sovereign nations. As an Asian he had access to materials denied to Western reporters. This journey made him an authority on the Far East and gave him a storehouse of information to draw upon for his speeches and articles. The award of the Pulitzer Prize in 1942 for the series of articles growing out of his survey made him a world figure.

His ability to put his thoughts and impressions into words that would affect the lives and thoughts of others was increased by his daily broadcast on *The Voice of Freedom*, emanating from Corregidor, where he was trapped with General MacArthur, President Quezon, and General Wainwright during the spring of 1942. Just before the collapse of the Bataan and Corregidor holding operation, General Wainwright handed Romulo his orders to get out of the battle zone and join General MacArthur in Australia.

"You're under orders, Wainwright had snapped at me when I was about to protest," Romulo reported.

"I hadn't dared protest. I was too tired, too utterly sickened physically and spiritually, to care very much whether or not I got away. It wasn't until I hit the cooling air outside the lateral that I realized for the first time that perhaps there might be another life waiting on ahead across the darkening waters of the bay."

There was another life awaiting him. Romulo did not stay long in Australia, for General MacArthur wanted the story of Corregidor and Bataan told to the American people. Romulo landed in America on June 28, 1942. His premonition that there was something ahead for him to do soon became a reality. During the next year he poured out his mind and heart to the American people from the public platform. He was more in demand as a lecturer than Eleanor Roosevelt. His name became a household word. He became better known in America than in the Philippines. He travelled more than 80,000 miles and appeared in more than 500 different American cities. Woodrow Wilson would have rejoiced that here was a great orator who could "go about and make men drunk with the spirit of self sacrifice." His experience in Detroit was typical. Twelve hundred businessmen at the Economic Club in Detroit sat in silence while they heard the story of Bataan. Many wept, hearing at firsthand that Filipinos and their fellow countrymen had endured so much with so little, for so great a cause.

Positions that demanded the ability to speak sought him out. In 1944, Romulo was appointed Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States, serving until July 4, 1946, when that office was abolished. His speaking ability served him well as Head of the Philippine Delegation to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco in 1945. Many thought him the outstanding orator of the conference. He held this position until 1954. Speaking opportunities multiplied when he was elected president of the United Nations Fourth Assembly for 1949-50. He was appointed to the President's cabinet as Secretary of Foreign Affairs for the Philippines from 1950 to 1952. President Elpidio Quirino appointed him Ambassador to the United States in January 1952.

Romulo resigned his ambassadorship in 1953 when he broke with President Quirino because of the abuses of his administration that were destroying democracy in the islands. After the election of President Mag-saysay, he was appointed Special and Personal Envoy from February 1954 to September 23, 1955. On September 24, 1955, he became Philippine Ambassador to the United States again. Concurrently, he is also

Philippine Representative on the Security Council and Chairman of the Philippine Delegation to the 12th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Romulo must have thought more than once during these busy years that there was a destiny shaping his ends. Was it for this that he was lifted out of Corregidor and Bataan?

SPEAKING WITH AUTHORITY AND POWER

Romulo moved from one position of responsibility to another not only because he had the necessary information but because he had the ability to speak with authority and power. H. V. Kaltenborn said, "He is the best orator of the General Assembly. He was the best in San Francisco; he still is." Various newspapers put these evaluations on his ability to speak: New York *Daily Mirror*, "The fiery Romulo electrified his audience." New York *Daily News*, "The speech . . . was eloquent. Romulo is a finished orator. It is also a literary speech and a thought-provoking one." New York *Times*, "It was the best speech of the week."

It will be noted that Kaltenborn uses the word orator. The word *orator* has almost disappeared from our vocabulary, except as a term of disparagement, because there are so few speakers worthy of the term. One can count on one hand the names of those in this century who are justly termed orators. Certainly Lloyd George, whom Hitler greatly admired, deserved the term. And Churchill, who rallied England in 1940, is admittedly an orator. America owes much to the oratory of Franklin D. Roosevelt. And not only in times of war is Romulo able to stir an audience, but in times of Cold War audiences respond to his oratorical powers on the platform. Comments furnished by his lecture manager, time after time, mention that the audience rose spontaneously at the conclusion of the lecture and gave the speaker an ovation. Donald H. Horton, Director-Manager of the University Concert and Lecture series of The Ohio State University, wrote of the lecture given on December 6, 1957, "We were exceptionally pleased with the lecture and the audience response to it which resulted in a standing ovation at the conclusion of the program. This is definitely a rare thing as far as Ohio State University is concerned. He was exceptionally nice to work with and was in rare good humor that evening, and I have never heard the General give a better presentation. We hope to have him again in a few years when another student generation has come to the campus." Romulo gives on the average one lecture a week. Few men possess the degree of intelligence,

the virtue, and the good will, the three characteristics mentioned by Aristotle, to make an orator. Let us examine Romulo's endowment along these lines.

In his battles with Vyshinsky, an admittedly first-class mind, Romulo seldom comes out second best. American audiences enjoy Romulo's recounting of these experiences when the great Vyshinsky was humbled. The width of Romulo's intellectual interests is displayed in these speeches. The Philippines, the United Nations, Asia, the United States are close to his mind and heart. His organizational genius came to the fore in setting up the Baguio Conference in May 1950. A touch of the prophetic is found in the orator. Romulo has such a grasp of the total situation, past, present, and future, that he can sense what is going to happen. Winston Churchill in the 1930's pointed to the danger of Hitler and outlined his probable course. In the blitz of 1940, when Churchill girded England for a possible invasion, he predicted that in due time the West would come to the aid of the beleaguered isle. And America did! Likewise, Romulo saw Japan as the foe of the Philippines. He predicted an invasion by Japan, but his words were not heeded. And, again, in his address before the Harvard graduates and alumni on June 22, 1950, three days before the Korean war broke out, Romulo predicted that there would be such a war. The colonial powers would not listen to the prophetic words of Romulo gradually to set up self-governing systems in their colonies in the Far East and today they are reaping the whirlwind of rebellion. In his opening remarks before the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco in 1945, he prophesied, "Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, let us make this floor the last battlefield. We are here to determine whether the human race is going to exist or whether it is to be wiped out in another world holocaust."

SKILL IN DIPLOMACY

"Romulo is not only a great orator," declared former Senator William Benton, "he is one of the most able diplomats on the international scene." Diplomacy takes intelligence. Two instances in which Romulo showed his skill as a diplomat and which drew unusual praise from the press and governmental officials are his outmaneuvering of Nehru at Bandung in April 1955, and his staging of the dinner in memory of Bataan on April 9, 1956. At this banquet in the Mayflower Hotel, he set before the American people the troubled status of American-Philippine relations that demanded action by the Congress of the United States. Romulo has told the story of his Bandung experience in the

Continued on page 30

THE ROLE OF SPEECH IN PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

4

Psychological warfare is no twentieth-century phenomenon even though the Cold War between Russia and the United States—a Cold War which began early in 1945—has evoked unparalleled propaganda attacks. Today when columnists write glowingly about “word warfare” and the “battle for men’s minds,” we would do well to remember that such struggles are not new and that throughout all ages psychological warfare messages have been transmitted by public speeches.

Although history is a little vague on just what subjects primitive man talked about, presumably he talked in order to increase his chances for survival. Sometimes when his talk proved unsuccessful, man had to fight for existence, and today no one really knows how many centuries passed before early man began to associate his talking with his fighting; however, if primitive man fought with his neighbors, he must have used the weapons he then had available, and words were one of the earliest weapons in his arsenal.

The term “psychological warfare” refers to the use of available means of communication in order to weaken the enemy’s will to fight, and the idea for such warfare is found in the oldest manuals of military strategy. For example, *The Book of War*, written in China by Sun Tzu in the fifth century B.C., stressed the importance of destroying the enemy’s will to fight through such means as surprise and noise.

Scanning history, it can be seen that man has advanced in his techniques of psychological warfare to the point where he now is able to print his messages on leaflets or to broadcast those messages over loudspeaker and radio. History also reveals that throughout all ages psychological warfare messages have been transmitted by public speeches.

The orations of Pericles in the Greek democracy, the Philippics of Demosthenes, and later, the invectives of Cicero against Catiline—all had their effects not only upon friendly and neutral groups but upon enemies as well.

A thousand years later, the Crusades received fervent support from such speakers and exhorters as Peter the

Hermit and Pope Urban. In fact, it was the speaking done under the direction of the Catholic Church that gave the word “propaganda” to the English language. In 1622 Pope Gregory XV created the “Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.” This Congregation later became known as the “Propaganda.” The word had its origin in the Latin *propagare*—to extend, to enlarge or to carry forward, and the early use of the word by the Church seems to have had none of the unsavory implications it has today. The propagators appointed by the Church were trained especially as speakers; they studied classical rhetoric, planned their appeals, and were recognized as powerful forces in the influencing of public attitudes and behaviors.

In the United States, official agencies now engaged in psychological warfare include the Department of State and all its branches under the Secretary for Public Affairs, the Army, Navy, and Air Force, in addition to a Psychological Strategy Board working directly under the Security Council. Careful reading of a bibliography on psychological warfare published by the State Department shows that there have been studies of the value of propaganda by leaflets, radio and loudspeaker, slogans, books, motion pictures, gimmicks, flags, rumors, exchange students and professors, athletics, and ballet. For the most part, however, these studies deal with short range or tactical propaganda. Although professors of rhetoric and speech occasionally have written about certain phases of the subject, on official levels there seems to be little attention to the role of public address in psychological warfare. Yet public speeches not only have marked the various stages in the development of the Cold War, but in some instances they themselves have served as psychological attacks.

It is also evident that some speeches have had dangerous effects upon national strategy and objectives. For example, in 1950 when American planning aimed to portray the United States as leading the way to world peace, the Secretary of the Navy, Francis

Matthews, seemed to subvert that strategy when he announced that it might be necessary for America to change its role and become aggressive. To his world listeners the American Secretary sounded as if he were threatening world peace rather than leading toward it. In his own words he was ready for his country to become "an initiator of a war of aggression" and to seek peace so unwaveringly that it might even be necessary to institute "a war to compel co-operation for peace." Such bellicose statements not only upset American strategy, but alarmed the free world and gave the Russians unexpected grist for their own propaganda mills.

SPEECHES AS WEAPONS

And yet, if awkward statements can touch off unfavorable reactions, speeches when carefully planned can be turned into national assets to be thrown into the assault. Although there is disagreement over the extent to which Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt appreciated the impact of their wartime utterances, few contemporary students would deny them recognition as spokesmen who tipped the psychological scales in favor of the Allies. In 1940, the words of Churchill were deemed so important that a book of his speeches was reduced to the size of a lady's folded handkerchief and distributed by the official Political Warfare Executive, a British agency similar to the Office of War Information in America. The speeches of Churchill and Roosevelt served to the advantage of the Allies even though writers and speakers for years will continue to debate the wisdom of the announcement of the "unconditional surrender" policy.

There was an occasional backfire from these wartime speeches. For example, Roosevelt's Four Freedoms speech fired the enthusiasm of the oppressed peoples of Europe, but America lost prestige when an inept translation of the Four Freedoms was put on match packets distributed in French areas. "Freedom from Want" somehow showed up as "liberté corporale," which meant something quite different to most Frenchmen.

Most Americans are somewhat familiar with President Roosevelt's wartime utterances. Among his speeches aimed at Nazi Germany were such addresses as the Quarantine of Aggressor Nations (1937), the Hand That Held the Dagger (1940), and his War Message of 1941. However, the nearer Germany came to being vanquished, the greater and more imminent loomed the Soviet threat with an accompanying increase of tension in American-Soviet relations. A notable speech by President Roosevelt characterized

the very inception of this struggle which was soon to be dubbed the Cold War.

The speech was his Yalta Address of March 1, 1945, and the fact that it was recognized as important in international relations and psychological strategy at the time it was given, can be inferred from several statements within the address as well as the means used to disseminate it. In the course of his remarks President Roosevelt noted that American thinking and talking are seldom secret but are soon known all over the world. In this instance the United States Information agencies took special care to make sure that the world did know what President Roosevelt said, for the speech was broadcast in twenty-one languages and three dialects by radio transmitters of the Overseas Branch of the Office of War Information. Almost continuous broadcasts of the speech went into Germany itself.

In the Soviet press, the Yalta speech was reported copiously, and it was used to present Roosevelt to the Russian people as a "champion of peace and democracy." One observer, Frederick Braghorn, summarized the Soviet press characterization of Roosevelt as follows:

Soviet popular opinion of America was reflected perhaps most strikingly in the almost universal deep affection for President Roosevelt. In part, this was built up by the Soviet propaganda machine . . . Soviet propaganda, which in prominent editorials on the occasion of Roosevelt's death, flatly committed itself to the thesis that he was a great "democrat" and "town crier" of peace, security, and international collaboration.

This characterization of Roosevelt, which the Yalta Address helped set out in bold relief, was not dispelled even in later years when Soviet propaganda shifted to paint Messrs. Truman, Acheson, and Vandenberg as the arch betrayers of Roosevelt's program for peace and international collaboration. An even greater importance of the Yalta Address arose from the fact that as President Roosevelt's last major speech on foreign policy, it set a pattern for many other American speeches to be given in the twelve months after his death.

After the first shock of dismay over President Roosevelt's death, the prevalent feeling in America was one of speculation over the qualities of the man who would succeed him. How would the glamorous mantle of world spokesman as worn by Franklin Roosevelt fit on the shoulders of Harry S. Truman, a plain, rather provincial man from the Midwest? The world didn't know.

THE UNTRIED TRUMAN

Although he reported to the nation following the August conference in Potsdam, Germany, the impact of this particular Presidential speech was nearly eclipsed

by the news of a fantastic "atom bomb" that the American planes had just dropped on Japan. Later, President Truman was to give many speeches related to the Cold War. In fact, because of his position as America's Number One Voice, he became the leading spokesman for Containment as a policy.

Early in his tenure, however, he moved cautiously, and after taking office it was nearly seven months before he gave a speech devoted solely to post-war foreign policies. He chose the occasion of Navy Day, October 27, 1945, to deliver what was billed in advance by White House Secretaries as "the most important address on foreign affairs Mr. Truman has made since he came into office."

6 In keeping with the military significance of the day, President Truman insisted that the United States would support a large army, navy, and air force for its own security. The heart of his address was a twelve-point foreign policy which declared that the United States would refuse to recognize "any government imposed upon any nation by the force of any foreign power." The speaker admitted that in some cases it might not be possible to prevent the establishment of undemocratic governments, but he reasserted that his country would not recognize such governments even if established.

Never in his career as President was Harry Truman to receive such uniform praise as he did for this speech. The address seems to have mollified even the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, which had been surprised by the message, and explained:

We shall comment in a day or two on the plans of his platform as he stated them. Meanwhile we believe our most useful contribution . . . is to review our diplomacy in the war years.

On Monday, October 29, this same paper interpreted the speech as a notice to the Russian dictator Stalin that "his oppressions in Eastern Europe will not henceforth be condoned by the United States."

Some American newspapers, however, interpreted the speech as being too cautious and believed that since Russia was not mentioned specifically, the implication would be unheeded. The *Philadelphia Enquirer* declared editorially that "the situation seemed to call for somewhat plainer speaking."

Indeed, in Moscow the Soviet papers prominently displayed the twelve points enunciated by President Truman, and the Russians read into the President's speech evidence that international relations were entering a less strained period. A *New York Times* correspondent wired from Moscow that the speech had come at a good time from the Soviet Union's viewpoint and was received enthusiastically there.

Even from such abbreviated evidence, it can be seen that if the Navy Day speech meant to crystallize any attitudes about the developing conflict, it failed because of its ambiguity and general implications. As a speech of commemoration and ceremony, the Navy Day Address achieved wide acclaim, but as a potent force in the Cold War, it was considerably less successful.

In the developing psychological war, just as had been true in the recent military action, the United States was not without its allies. A representative from one of these allies came to America in the winter of 1946. The winter had been a period when relations between Russia and the United States were anything but amicable; however, it was also a period when the American public clamored for peace, and official spokesmen seemed to tailor their addresses to satisfy this demand. It remained for a foreigner to deliver an address, forceful in its language, striking in its delivery, and shocking enough in its arguments to change significantly what Secretary Byrnes had called "rostrum diplomacy." The speaker was Winston Churchill.

Because of his masterful oratory, both preceding and during the war years, Winston Churchill was without an equal as spokesman for the free world. While the war was still in progress he had come to the United States to address the American Congress, but the war's end had brought changes to the British Cabinet, and in 1946 Britain's most famous statesman no longer held any official government position.

CHURCHILL AT FULTON, MISSOURI

The engagement of Mr. Churchill to speak at Fulton, Missouri, seems to be the biggest plume ever stuck in the diplomatic cap of the controversial Harry Vaughan, for it was largely through his efforts that President Truman not only agreed to inviting Mr. Churchill but even agreed to introduce the honored guest. The actual amount of collaboration between President Truman and Mr. Churchill over the content of the speech is somewhat speculative. It is known that President Truman had taken on a firmer attitude toward the Russians and even had sent a handwritten memorandum to Byrnes that he "was tired of babying the Soviets."

The President later disclosed that he had known in advance what Mr. Churchill was going to say, and President Truman elaborated, "I didn't read his speech, but he talked to me on the train about what he was going to say."

Of course, the real psychological significance of this address lay in the reactions beyond those of the immediate audience, and many of these reactions not only were critical of Churchill for the speech, but of Truman

for having lent the occasion his Presidential prestige.

The reactions of the American Communist Party to the speech were violent; in New York, they brought out their biggest personality, William Z. Foster, who levelled the main salvo at Churchill and Truman. Foster accused the United States Government as being directly responsible for the whole affair as he asked, "How could it be that the die-hard old Tory Churchill, driven out of office by his own people, could dare to make such a war-mongering speech in the United States?" In answering his own question, Foster charged that President Truman bore direct responsibility because "he [Truman] deliberately staged Churchill's speech and he gave it his virtual endorsement beforehand . . ."

In Russia itself, the reaction was equally quick and even more violent, for it seemed that the address and, moreover, Truman's presence on the stage helped pile on a new weight of suspicion and ill-will. The *Times* (London) quoted the Moscow newspaper *Pravda* as using a caption, "Churchill Rattles His Sabre," and eventually the Fulton Speech evoked a denunciation from Stalin—a denunciation which was printed in *Pravda* and broadcast by Radio Moscow eight days later.

One measure of the impact of the Fulton speech in terms of psychological warfare was the subsequent popularity of some of its phrases. Neither "sinews of peace" nor "fraternal association" ever gained wide acceptance, but the metaphor "iron curtain" caught the imagination of the free world and became almost a daily phrase. Although Churchill was to write later that he was proud of having "coined" the metaphor, the real irony in the "iron curtain" phrase lies in the fact that it was used as early as February 1945 by the Nazi Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels. In a remarkable essay entitled "The Year Two Thousand," the Nazi propagandist predicted:

The Soviets will occupy . . . the whole east and southwest of Europe, in addition to the larger part of Germany. In front of this enormous territory . . . an iron curtain will go down . . .

Goebbels' phrase, if not his warnings, spread to Western Europe, and in August 1945, during a Parliamentary debate, Churchill used the "iron curtain" phrase in a passage very similar to that used at Fulton. And, on November 15, 1945 (nearly three months before the Fulton speech), Arthur Vandenberg in a single Senate speech, used the iron curtain metaphor twenty-two times. The fact that it remained for Churchill to give the real impetus to the popularity of the phrase seems to point to one of the particular advantages of public address as a psychological warfare weapon, namely, there is a tide in the affairs of men when one

speaker may make only a chorus of the press and other media. Churchill's undeniable reputation as a statesman and speaker combined to make him an example of the well-known rhetorical concept—the right man speaking the right thoughts at the right time.

Many other public addresses have had psychological impact in the Cold War. Among these were speeches in the so-called "Great Debate of 1950-1951." You will recall that General MacArthur in somewhat of a climax to this debate addressed the Congress in April 1951, and gave his dramatic peroration, "Old soldiers never die; they just fade away." That the enemy was quick to note and to make use of this address is evident from the leaflets showered on American soldiers in Korea a few days later. The bold headlines at the top of this leaflet stated, "*Old Soldiers Never Die, but Young Ones Do!*"

Yes—the spoken word does produce reactions even though that word be spoken in a Cold War marked by twentieth-century gimmicks and technological miracles. The record reveals clearly that a single public address may evoke widespread reactions—reactions which may even run counter to the current objectives of our propaganda services. Therefore, it is not sound psychological strategy for any nation to perfect elaborate techniques and systems for the dissemination of propaganda if the basic messages themselves are not equally and carefully planned. Public addresses, planned or unplanned, have been and will remain liabilities or assets in our nation's psychological offensive.

The International Guide will be of interest to many of our readers. Its editor, Mary Carol Bird, notes that it "is an annual reference to world literary movements, little magazines, literary and art quarterlies and smaller art presses." Several university presses are listed.

"Its purpose," Miss Bird's editorial in the 1961 edition continues, "is to stimulate interest in the avant-garde and the new writing and art through 'Little Magazines' of the world."

Half of the *Guide* is filled with listings from the United States. The remainder consists of names of similar publications from all parts of the world. Writers, librarians, publishers, and readers will find the information invaluable.

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HENRY L. EWBANK, JR.
Associate Professor of Speech
Purdue University
and

ELDON E. BAKER
Speech Instructor
The University of Arizona

KHRUSHCHEV: CONSISTENT OR CONTRADICTIONARY?

*PART II. SPEECHES AFTER U-2

8

After his return from the American tour, Khrushchev continued to treat U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations and world peace much as he had in the past. During his visit with DeGaulle, in a televised speech to the French people, he noted that, "Highly important negotiations are forthcoming here in Paris in the near future. The leading statesmen of the Four Powers—France, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and United States—will participate in these negotiations. The most important and pressing problems of today are to be discussed and solved during these negotiations. We want the summit meetings to help disentangle the many knots and clear the road of the rocks that have piled up as a result of the long cold war years." This line of thinking prevailed until the disclosure of the ill-fated U-2 flight of May 1, 1960.

In announcements immediately following, Khrushchev expressed an adamant position regarding Soviet air rights over their own territory. The American press picked up this change of emphasis and the official American position, shifting as it did, provided great emphasis on the apparent change of Soviet attitude toward the prospects for the Summit Meeting and American-Soviet relations in general.

Metropolitan papers and locals subscribing to the wire services were unanimous in bewailing the propaganda advantages which had been given to the Russians. Virtually all reporters, looking at the changes which were apparent in Khrushchev's speeches and press conferences, agreed that the "new Soviet line" was indicative of a significant change in attitude and predicted a vastly different expression of policy to follow. Reading back through the speeches which followed the break-up of the Summit Meetings, these predictions seem to have been borne out more in de-

gree than kind. The major themes which were apparent in Khrushchev's speeches prior to May Day, 1960, are the same themes which persist to the present day. There are changes in detail. Some themes are developed more fully than others; some themes are set forth with greater emphasis now than before. The Communist ideology has become the theme of a more vigorous defense of Russian successes. World peace and peaceful coexistence are still treated as world-wide goals but the onus of their attainment is reserved more carefully to Russian hands. The pattern of United States-Soviet relations assumes a new importance relative to the other themes.

COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY IN THE SHADOW OF U-2

Although there has been a renewed determination in the expression of the basic Communist ideology, it is developed in much the same manner that has been evident heretofore. In his speech at the Third Congress of Rumanian Workers, June 24, 1960, Khrushchev said, "The peoples of the Soviet Union are now united as never before and rallied behind the Communist Party, its Leninist Central Committee, and the Soviet Government. They are resolved to put into effect the predictions of scientific communism and to raise by their labor the bright and majestic edifice of communist society. The time is drawing nearer, day by day, when we shall be able to say that communism—like socialism today—has developed from a cherished goal into concrete reality. And this happy time is not far off, dear friends!" He continued, in this same speech, to give new voice to the old lessons of the Communist philosophers. "We live in a time when we have neither Marx, nor Engels, nor Lenin with us . . . Marx, Engels, and Lenin created immortal works

* For Part I see the April Number of TODAY'S SPEECH.

which will not fade away in centuries. They pointed out to mankind the road to communism. And we confidently follow this road."

In this same vein referring to the old allegation that "Communism would bury capitalism" which had caused so much consternation during his American tour, he said, "If one speaks of who will bury whom, the gravedigger of capitalism, as Karl Marx said, is the working class. And I as a member of a Communist Party, as a member of a great and mighty class of workers do not exclude myself from among the number of gravediggers of capitalism."

As he brought the focus of Communist philosophy to bear on technological advancement in this speech to the Rumanian Workers' Party which was the first major address after the collapse of the proposed Summit Conference, he said, "Every new economic achievement of our countries adds to the prestige of socialism and makes it more attractive in the eyes of the peoples of the world. Already in the first years of Soviet power, when the Soviet Union was the only socialist country, Vladimir Illyich Lenin spoke of the importance of economic successes for the cause of socialism, stressing that it is our economic policy that makes the strongest impact on the world." Asserting that the development of socialist countries was sufficient to cause concern for such capitalist countries as France and Italy, Khrushchev said, "I think that we do not have long to wait till the time when the countries of capitalism will find themselves relegated to the background economically. Briefly, the prospects for capitalism are none too happy. This is a wonderful fact, comrades! . . . These successes strengthen the might of our states and enable us constantly to raise the well-being of the people and to solve more quickly our main task, that of building a communist society."

The shadow of the U-2 incident has not dimmed Khrushchev's ardor in extolling the promise of the Leninist ideology. The worker is glorified as an agent in spreading the Communist message rather than as a citizen who can look forward to being his own master. General claims of technological advancement are confidently expressed implying Russian superiority now or in the immediate future. The goal of peaceful competition is still to overtake and exceed the Free World economy.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND DISARMAMENT IN THE SHADOW OF U-2

On May 9, 1960, only a week after the U-2 was reportedly shot down, Khrushchev spoke out at the Embassy of the Czechoslovak Republic for abandoning

the exchange of threats which had been engendered by the incident. "It would be better to speak of peace and friendship, how mutually advantageous it is to trade, how good relations can be established between peoples, how cultural contact and tourist travel can be developed. This would be a far more useful and lofty job, and all the people of the world would welcome this."

Despite the barbed references to warlike acts, Khrushchev continued to speak of the policy of peaceful coexistence. In his Paris press conference on May 18, he averred, "We will continue to pursue a policy of preserving peace so that all international disputes are settled by negotiations. But at the same time we will defend our sovereignty, the sovereignty of the peoples of the socialist countries." He balanced this with the statement, "We will resolutely repulse all attempts at aggression against us. I think that this policy will meet with the understanding and approval of all the peoples because it is the only possible correct policy. This policy does not prejudice any people or any state. On the contrary it insures peaceful coexistence, the peaceful development of all countries and all mankind." Two days later in East Berlin he reaffirmed this stand, saying, "We are determined to continue following the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of the socialist and capitalist nations, and to work for a reduction of international tensions, for disarmament and peaceful solution of disputed issues."

The Soviet challenge to accept their proposal for universal disarmament with controls has been issued with greater vehemence than before. In the Czechoslovak Embassy speech Khrushchev talked beyond his immediate audience, saying, "We are not afraid of control. If you should like, gentlemen, then you could fly over our territory—check, take pictures, do what you please. Such an issue as the present one could not then arise." A month later, in Moscow, Khrushchev repeated his contention that when there was disarmament there would be no objection to flying over any territory for purposes of photographing anything. "For then," he declared, "no one could use the data obtained to the detriment of the security of any state." Then, in a brash moment, he lashed out at the American leaders: "Then President Eisenhower with all his company: Herter, Dillon, and Dulles—Nixon, too, should remember this—can fly any way they like and in any direction they want. We shall be waving at them from the ground and greeting them, for such flights will not threaten anybody any longer."

As he issued this invitation to the freedom of the skies, Khrushchev expanded on the details of the Russian proposal for disarmament with controls. Claim-

ing that Russia already had a superior position in rocketry and atomic and hydrogen weapons, he proposed the destruction of all military aircraft and launching sites which might be used for carriers of these weapons. He suggested United Nations inspection teams and a militia to implement and enforce these proposals. Shortly thereafter, as he spoke to the Rumanian Workers, he contrasted this proposal with the plan advanced by the Western Powers, saying, "The whole world now sees who really prepared for disarmament and drafted proposals to produce positive results, and who did not prepare for the summit meeting, intended to wreck it and actually did wreck it."

10

From this fairly safe position he was telling the world what might have happened had the Paris meeting actually occurred. In so doing he continued to infer that world peace and peaceful coexistence with disarmament were important aspects of Soviet policy and indeed advanced the claim that they were almost the sole property of the Soviet Union. As he detailed the disarmament proposals in the "this is what I would have said" framework, Mr. K. spoke as a man saying to his friend, "You missed a good party last night!"

THE ELUSIVE SPIRIT OF CAMP DAVID

By their very nature, relationships between any two countries are dictated by day-by-day events. Thus the theme of U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations, though it is persistently treated in Khrushchev's policy speeches, is certainly less consistently presented than those more philosophical concepts of Communist ideology and world peace. In order for the Soviet Union to maintain the position of independence of thought and action, to pursue its sovereign destiny, its relative position in world negotiations must be continuously readjusted. It must thus appear that the position of other world powers is constantly shifting, and that the Soviet position is stable. This is often done by the simple expedient of saying, "I knew it all the while."

When Khrushchev was questioned about his statement that he had long known of the U-2 flights, he told reporters at the Paris press conference of May 18 that he had considered mentioning them to President Eisenhower as they talked at Camp David. "It was then that I wanted to tell my friend that it is not nice to overfly a friend's territory without his permission," he said. "But I then thought better of it and decided: 'No, I am not going to tell him. There is something about this friend that does not invite utter frankness.' And I did not raise the matter. I think I was right in my doubts and this was confirmed when we caught the American spy, like a thief, redhanded."

He offset this aggressive statement with the rather conciliatory observation that, "This spy flight has affected the relations between the USSR and the United States. But in the end it will be necessary to overcome its consequences, to 'digest' all this, as it were. It is necessary to normalize relations so that the American and the Soviet people may live in peace and, as I have already said, not only peace but friendship."

As Khrushchev sought to strengthen the Soviet position and to push the charge of instability onto the United States, he adopted a stand often taken by American leaders seeking to explain the aggressive attitudes of Russia. He inferred that the administration of the United States government, and the American people, had somehow fallen victim to the militarists of the country. In the Czechoslovak Embassy speech he probed, "It is said that it was the work of the military. Only the military? What kind of state is this if the military do what the government opposes? How can the government tolerate this?" Then, in order to strengthen the position of his own government, he boasted, "If any one of our military allowed himself to do such a thing, we would pull him up immediately. The government and the country are strong when the entire machinery functions smoothly, when everything is subordinated to the government." Much the same point was made as he spoke at Berlin's Orly airport, saying, "the whole world now sees how dangerous and reckless is the policy pursued by the United States leaders who dance to the tune of militarists and *revanchists*." In both of these statements Khrushchev was careful not to infer that the American people, in general, wanted war, nor that their elected leaders were eager to fight.

He was not always so charitable with the American administration in the days that followed. For about two months after the U-2 and the collapse of the Summit Conference, Khrushchev engaged in a crescendo of remarks concerning the perpetrators of this incident. By June 3, the time when he explained his reasons for retracting the invitation to President Eisenhower, the administration had assumed the position of active agent rather than unwitting captive of the military. He borrowed evidence as he observed, "The inquiry now conducted by the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate once again makes it quite obvious that the wrecking of the conference was planned and carried out by the United States administration, by Herter, Nixon, and Eisenhower." Building on this line of thought he asked, "How then could the President, who has committed such a provocation against the Soviet Union, have come to dine

with me? How would I have treated him? Anyone will see my position."

RESENTMENT AGAINST EISENHOWER

His resentment against President Eisenhower reached a high point on June 24 as he told the Rumanian Workers of the Camp David negotiations. Khrushchev recounted that while President Eisenhower went off to church, Mr. Dillon remained to converse on economic matters and questions of trade. "The worshipper, probably, prayed there to God for a safe flight for Powers. This, by the way, seems to illustrate that the Lord now is not serving the imperialists. The President of the United States prayed to God for a safe flight of the spy plane, and we shot down this plane. Whom did God help? He sided, so to speak, with socialism."

In spite of all of the acrimony and vitriol about the duplicity of the American leaders and their efforts to wreck the prospects of peace with espionage flights, Khrushchev could not resist the temptation to minimize the importance of any information actually gained from such flights. Having claimed that God was on his side, he proceeded to say, "I maintain that the information obtained as a result of the spy flights has no significance for safeguarding the defense of the United States. We well know that the spy flights were made precisely over areas where we have no rocket bases. We know that 2-3 years ago the areas of our proving grounds where we launch experimental rockets were photographed. It was the proving grounds for testing rocket weapons that were photographed and not strategical rocket bases." By making so much of the flight and then minimizing its importance, Khrushchev put himself in much the same position as that taken by the young and eager attorney who defended his client by saying, "In the first place, my client did not borrow the vase; in the second place, the vase was broken when he borrowed it; and finally, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, it was in one piece when he returned it."

Perhaps it was this untenable viewpoint, or perhaps it was his faith in still another line of argument which led Khrushchev to taper off in his allegations of United States warmongering. He suggested that there was the possibility that some of the American leaders had not yet "learned to pronounce the words 'peaceful co-existence' . . . But time is the best teacher, it will also teach these diehards. Sooner or later they will understand that the alternative to peaceful coexistence is bloody war. Let them make their choice."

Since his Rumanian tour, as he spoke in Moscow

and during his subsequent trip to Austria, Khrushchev apparently made his own choice. He elected to suggest a moratorium on Soviet-American negotiations until after the new American president was inaugurated. He concentrated his policy statements in the realms of Communist philosophy and world peace. He told the graduates of Soviet military academies on June 28, "We have always declared and declare now that the peaceful aims and aspirations of the Soviet Union and our people stem from our philosophy, from our entire Marxist-Leninist teachings, that peace and economic prosperity rather than war are required for the triumph of Communism." Shortly thereafter he told the Austrian radio and television audience, "If the Western Powers sincerely want disarmament, nothing and nobody stands in the way of an early agreement on disarmament under strict international control. We are prepared to do that. Why are we prepared to do that? Because we think it both possible and necessary to secure peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. We offer the capitalist world peaceful emulation or 'competition' as you prefer to call it. We are sure of our future."

Apparently he still felt sure of the future of the U.S.S.R. as he returned to New York as the head of the Soviet delegation to the United Nations General Assembly. This assurance was clear as he spoke at the luncheon given in his honor by Cyrus Eaton, ranging through his whole repertoire of themes including direct U.S.-U.S.S.R. negotiations in a benevolent manner. However, his more widely heard remarks in the UN Assembly avoided the suggestion of bi-lateral talks, and his press conference proposals for such conferences were conditional proposals, still seeking a formal apology for the overflight by the U-2. His farewell remarks as he boarded the plane in New York side-stepped this incident and exuded the goodwill of one who had accomplished much, if not all of what he had intended. "As to the friendly feelings of American people," he said, "their concern for peace, we have never doubted this and do not doubt this now."

Even as he spoke in Red Square at the celebration for the Soviet astronaut on April 14, 1961, Khrushchev made his favorite themes dominate his talk. Despite the interruption to plant a kiss on Yuri Gagarin in the midst of his speech, Khrushchev devoted more time and emphasis to the Communist heritage, world peace and peaceful coexistence, and the material and cultural advantage which this event conferred upon the Soviet Union *vis-a-vis* the United States and the Free World, than he accorded to the feat which gave rise to the occasion.

Continued on page 30

THINKING and SPEAKING ABOUT CAUSES

PART I

12

In mowing our lawns, we may face the necessity of analyzing causes. In a typical case, a suburbanite cranks the engine of his lawn mower several times without starting the motor. At first, he remains intelligent and tries to locate the cause of the problem. He looks inside the gas tank to see if lack of fuel is the cause, but he discovers that the tank is full. He turns the engine over and over again, but he gets not so much as a "pop" from it. He then looks to see if the wire is attached to the spark plug; it is, but the motor still fails to respond. Now he begins to drop good causal analysis and as he spins the engine each time, he pushes and pulls the various levers of the machine indiscriminately—all with no effect. With each failure, his actions become less intelligent. Finally, he addresses the machine with a special language reserved for such occasions, but since the language has no effect except on the passersby, he gives the machine a swift kick of exasperation and surrenders by calling a repairman. The repairman behaves differently; since he is adept at locating causes, he soon discovers that the magneto points are coated with carbon and cannot produce a spark. With its points cleaned, the engine soon starts. *When the cause of a problem is discovered, its solution often becomes obvious.*

As indispensable to problem-solving as the analysis of causes is, we often behave toward the problems of our day not unlike the suburbanite. Students do not analyze the causes of failure on an examination; too many citizens do not analyze the causes of farm surpluses; legislators sometimes do not understand the causes of problems for which they propose solutions. The problems, therefore, often stubbornly remain. If we are to speak intelligently about problems and about solving them, we must often determine the causes of these problems and then devise ways of leading an audience to understand these causes.

METHODS OF ANALYZING CAUSES

There are two basic approaches to the analysis of causes, and each type can be broken into various sub-types:

1. Explaining *how* or *why* a cause operates by *describing the conditions that produce an effect*.
2. Explaining *that* a cause operates by *showing that a cause and effect are associated*.

One might, for example, explain that insulin causes a reduction of diabetic symptoms by either of the two methods. To use the first method, one might describe the chain of conditions that the injection of insulin produces:

1. The injection of insulin into the blood stream increases the permeability of the body cells to blood sugar.
2. Since more blood sugar can permeate these cells, it is removed from the blood stream where it can cause damage.
3. Once the blood sugar is inside the body cells, it can be oxidized.
4. When blood sugar is oxidized, it is turned into carbon dioxide and water which the system can remove easily.

Thus we have explained how insulin operates to reduce diabetic symptoms by describing the conditions that produce the effect.

We could also use the second method, showing that a cause and effect are associated. To do this, we would show that taking insulin is associated with a reduction of diabetic symptoms. We would have to present evidence to show that whenever diabetics take insulin, their symptoms decrease. In so doing, we would not know "why" the symptoms decreased, but we would be certain, still, that insulin can cause a reduction of them. Thus the second method does not tell us "why" the symptoms decreased, but only "that" they did. Either method is convincing, and both together are especially strong.

In the famous experiment at the Leaning Tower, Galileo refuted the notion that gravity would cause bodies to fall with a speed proportional to their weight. Which method of causal analysis was he using? In dropping weights over the side of the Tower, he showed that bodies of different weight *did* hit the ground at the same time, but not *why*. Since he showed *that* they hit at the same time, but not *why*, he was clearly using the second method. To understand why they fall at the same speed, one must remember that heavy weights have more inertia than light ones—it takes more pull to move a heavy load than a light one. As the heavy weight falls, it has a greater pull of gravity on it, but since it has more inertia, it takes more pull to get it moving. The greater inertia of the heavier body exactly balances the greater pull of gravity. Since the greater inertia of the heavy weight exactly balances its greater pull, it falls no faster than the light weight.

There are two variations of our first method of demonstrating a cause. Each is applicable in certain kinds of situations. The first is the use of a chain of causes.

THE CHAIN OF CAUSES

In some cases, a cause will produce a chain reaction which leads to the end result. In the case of our previous illustration about how insulin reduces diabetic symptoms, we used a four-step chain inaugurated by the increased permeability of cell membranes to sugar, leading to the result that diabetic symptoms were reduced. We might use a similar chain of causes to explain why carbon monoxide causes death:

1. Carbon monoxide, when inhaled, reaches the lungs where it forms a compound with hemoglobin.
2. This compound makes it impossible for the hemoglobin to absorb free oxygen.
3. Since the hemoglobin cannot carry oxygen to the tissues, the organism dies of asphyxia.

Such a chain of reasoning shows how a cause leads to a result by breaking the cause into discrete units which form a series of causes as in Figure 1. The use

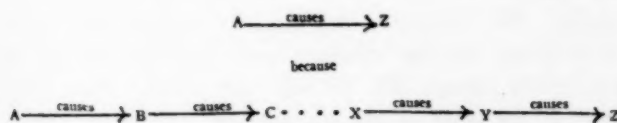


FIGURE 1—A Chain of Causes

of a chain of causes helps a speaker show an audience how one factor may cause another in a relatively simple and understandable series of steps.

LISTING MULTIPLE CAUSES

Not all phenomena in human affairs can be easily explained by a simple chain of causes because, in some problems, many causes may operate to produce an effect. In describing the downfall of Greek civilization, for example, one cannot single out one supremely important factor because many factors operated to produce downfall. Among the forces that led to the weakening of Greek culture are the following: the Greeks persecuted their best thinkers; the Peloponnesian Wars wasted the vitality and manhood of Greece; a plague destroyed at least one-third of Athens' population; the soil became depleted; the silver mines at Laurium became exhausted; the Greeks were confronted with a physically more energetic and more unified people; political corruption dissipated Athens' strength; and so on. Thus multiple causes, rather than a single chain produced the effect.

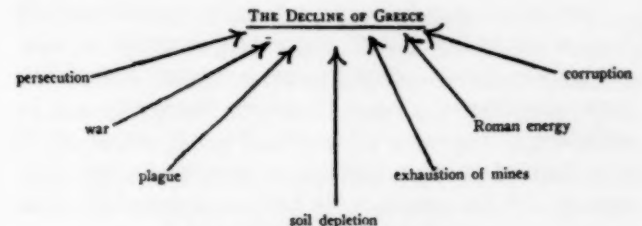


FIGURE 2—Multiple Causes

Many contemporary problems have multiple causes. Juvenile crime, for example, has several causes, some of which operate in one particular juvenile delinquent and some of which do not. Thus the tension produced by broken homes or poverty, the lack of socially acceptable ways of finding adventure, serious psychological maladjustment in the parents or the child, the lack of an acceptable adult model for the juvenile, the influence of the neighborhood gang, and an unchallenging school environment may all operate in various ways to encourage delinquent behavior. In such cases, the speaker will find it necessary to list each factor that produces the effect.

After listing each cause, the speaker may have to explain how it operates, and this explanation may require a chain of causes. For example, one might wish to state the chain of causes by which political corruption in Athens helped to contribute to the decline of Greece. A listing of multiple causes may, therefore, often require the use of one or more chains as well.

MAKING MEANING CLEAR

Whether one is dealing with a chain of causes or listing multiple causes, he must take care to be clear.

In order to be clear to an audience, the speaker must first order his own thoughts and only then can he clearly explain causes to his audience. This clarity can be achieved in part if the speaker will state each causal element in a separate sentence. Moreover, understanding will more likely be achieved if the speaker, while stating a sentence that reveals the cause of something, watches his listeners carefully for cues which indicate that he may have failed to communicate. If he senses that several listeners have not grasped the idea, he may wish to repeat it or to restate it in different words. Finally, the speaker with a complicated chain of causes or a long list of multiple factors should both simplify them and summarize them frequently enough so that the audience will be able to keep his formulations clearly in mind.

SUPPORT OF ALLEGED CAUSES

One must not only be clear, but one must frequently furnish an audience with supporting material to convince them that an alleged cause is a true cause. The mere assertion of a cause, however clear, may not be sufficient to convince a hearer. Thus if certain parts of a chain of causes might not be accepted by the audience it will be necessary to furnish support to show that those parts of the chain are *bona fide* causes, just as a speaker using a series of multiple causes may have to support some of his alleged causes before an audience will accept them.

Support may be of several sorts. The speaker may, first of all, use the *testimony* of experts to establish the idea that one event causes another. Thus if he can quote one or more eminent historians who assert that a certain factor contributed to the decline of Greece, the claim of a causal relationship will probably be accepted.

In addition, the speaker may be able to present the audience with a *factual example* in which it is clear that the element in question produced an effect. The speaker may use a case history to support his claim that a certain juvenile delinquent was predisposed to delinquency because of his association with an adolescent gang.

Sometimes an audience can be led to accept an alleged cause by means of a *hypothetical example*. For instance, one might explain how the lack of a satisfactory adult model might contribute to delinquency:

Consider the kinds of adults that delinquents know. Take Johnny, who is a hypothetical, but not improbable adolescent of the Lower Hill District. Who are the adults that Johnny knew? The first was his father who was too tired, too bored, too worried and

often too drunk to serve as a model. The second was his mother who was a drudge, and who had become too bitter to be attractive. In addition, he knew his school teachers who were, for the most part, harassed maiden-ladies whose prime concerns were the prevention of disciplinary problems. Finally, the other adult he knew was a policeman on the corner whose restrictive arm was a barrier to the boy's anti-social expressions of freedom. These people represent the mature adult world to Johnny. He does not want to be like them, and he will not be. And we shall pay the price.

One of the most complicated ways of supporting a chain of causes is by the *method of consequence*. A recent theory devised by Maurice Ewing and William Donn* to explain the origin of ice ages derives its support from this method. First of all the theory involves a chain of causes:

1. The glaciers have been slowly melting and receding for 11,000 years. As they melt, they add more water to the ocean which has been slowly rising.
2. As the oceans rise, the shallow shelf between Greenland and Europe becomes deeper, permitting the Gulf Stream to flow into the Arctic Ocean. The warm Gulf Stream slowly melts the Arctic ice cap.
3. Once the ice cap is melted, water from the Arctic Ocean can be evaporated into the earth's atmosphere, with the result that more precipitation falls all over the earth.
4. Some of this precipitation falls in the form of snow in the northern hemisphere where it accumulates faster than it can melt.
5. As snow accumulates, the level of the ocean falls to the point where the Gulf Stream can no longer flow into the Arctic with the result that the ocean freezes over and less precipitation occurs.
6. Since less snow falls than can be melted, the glaciers slowly melt with the result that the level of the oceans begins to rise, and the cycle starts over again.

The support of this theory comes largely from finding *another* consequence of each link of the chain of causes. For example, link number one is established by pointing out that measurements indicate the oceans are, today, about 300 to 400 feet higher than they were at the close of the last ice age. Thus the rising of the ocean during the last ten centuries is a consequence of the theory and tends to confirm this link in the chain. Link number two is supported by point-

Continued on page 31

* An interesting popular account of the theory has been written by Betty Friedman, "The Coming Ice Age," *Harper's*, CCXVII (December, 1958), 39-45.

MARY BRIGID GALLAGHER, R.S.M.
Instructor, Speech and Drama Department
Mercyhurst College
Erie, Pennsylvania

JOHN L. LEWIS:

The Oratory of Pity and Indignation

On Tuesday, March 25, 1947, the morning shift entered the "cage" and dropped down the shaft into the highly mechanized, highly gaseous No. 5 mine at Centralia, Illinois. Suddenly above the roar of machinery, an explosion blasted. A long streak of orange flame tore through the headings and down the tunnels with cyclonic speed, tearing up railroad ties, snapping wires, and throwing props and braces around like tooth-picks. All day and all night rescue workers sought entombed men. At the end of the search, they found one hundred and eleven bodies. These dead men left ninety-eight widows, seventy-eight orphans, and six dependent parents.

The Centralia disaster gave John Lewellyn Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, his opportunity to dramatize what he considered a predatory attitude toward his coal miners. Since May 29, 1946, an uneasy relationship between the UMWA and the government had kept the miners from striking. President Harry Truman had seized the mines after a fifty-six day strike, had assigned Secretary of Interior J. A. Krug as administrator, and when six months later, the UMWA again threatened to strike, J. A. Krug received an injunction from the Supreme Court to restrain action. The UMWA disregarded the injunction, and the Court fined both Lewis and the Union. Then came litigation and verbal combat over the right of the Court to restrain labor under terms of the Norris-La Guardia Act. Since the miners' contract ended on April 1, 1947, this again meant "no contract, no work," unless restrained by injunction. In its March 15, 1947, issue, the liberal *Nation* accused Lewis of "setting himself above the court . . . a fatal error regardless of the application of the Norris-La Guardia Act . . ." John L. replied, ". . . I regret that none of the members of the editorial staff of *The Nation* ever worked in a coal mine."

Congress set April 3, 1947, as the date to hear the UMWA side of the conflict. Then, just before the hearing came the Centralia disaster. Making use of

a clause in the miners' contract—the right to declare a memorial—Lewis promptly ordered all the soft coal miners "to stay home" for six days in memory of the men who had died at Centralia. At midnight, Monday, March 31, just one day before their contract expired, all soft coal miners in the United States ceased work.

The Subcommittee on Labor wanted to hear about the memorial and more, too, about the Union demand for a ten cent per ton royalty to be used toward a retirement and health insurance fund. Prior to Centralia, mine safety had been a secondary issue in the battle between Lewis and the coal operators. Four days before Lewis's appearance before the Subcommittee, Representative Max Schwabe of Missouri, chairman of the House Labor Committee, told newsmen he thought the disaster worthy of a memorial, but a six day stoppage was "a peculiar way" of providing one. Senator Joseph H. Ball of Minnesota, a member of the Senate Labor Committee, said that the memorial demonstrated again "the kind of dictatorial power" Lewis had.

LEWIS AND THE HOUSE LABOR COMMITTEE

At 10 A.M., Thursday, April 3, 1947, Mr. Lewis entered the House Caucus Chamber to keep his appointment with the government. With his white mane of hair, jutting, clean shaven jaws, large eyes overhung with thick eyebrows, Lewis resembled some ancient Celt left over from a more vigorous, less civilized time. A Cuchulain dressed in a gray business suit, white shirt, and dark tie, the sixty-seven year Lewis faced his questioners in the name of his less articulate tribesmen whose work hid them from the sun.

Representative Schwabe opened the session and called upon the UMWA President to "proceed without interruption." After the customary opening remarks, Mr. Lewis gave accident and death statistics which demonstrated "that every man who goes to work in a coal mine will be statistically killed or injured every six years." An audience favorable or hostile concerned

Mr. Lewis little. Regardless of the motives ascribed his action by Representative Schwabe or anyone else, Lewis had a "terrible tale" to tell, full of pity and indignation, and he intended to tell it.

For five and one-half hours, he sat in the midst of microphones and camera glare. Always good newspaper copy, John L. did not disappoint his public. Sometimes he moved to the edge of his chair; then, when warming to his subject, he pointed, shouted, banged his fist, or slammed down a paper. Frowning and scowling, he vigorously met each challenge. At the end of the day, the miners' champion seemed as fresh as when he began.

During five and a half hours of testimony, in speech worthy of a tragedian, Mr. Lewis drew word pictures of gruesome sights: "... flesh burned from faces ... grinning spectres of men." Like Hamlet, Lewis upbraided "grave diggers," then told Representatives how men "become inured to hazard." Hamlet "dares damnation"; Lewis "cares not who in heaven or hell opposes" his actions.

Indignantly, he told Representatives that the State of Illinois had sixteen mine inspectors and one hundred and forty-seven state game wardens; that Kentucky appropriated two hundred and twenty thousand dollars for "rabbit shepherding," and spent only thirty-seven thousand dollars for mine safety; that West Virginia hired thirty-two mine inspectors and fifty-nine game wardens; that Ohio employed nineteen mine inspectors and one hundred game wardens. "This is ghastly," raged Mr. Lewis, "it is grotesque ... State wardens to keep people from shooting the wrong rabbit ..."

ORATORY OF PITY

Many years before Centralia, Aristotle gave the term *pity* to that feeling of pain which a man experiences when he sees some evil destruction—such as death in its various forms, bodily injuries, afflictions, and old age. And according to Aristotle tragedy aroused pity and fear. Lewis borrowed the melody of Shakespearian "some [who] died ... some [who] lived blind ...". Not lacking originality, he avoided, "Something's rotten in Denmark." Instead Lewis lamented in the tones of a Richmond: "Twenty bodies are still in that mountain at the mouth of the pit, waiting for their government to recover their bodies." In tones reminiscent of Lear, "This is the way," said Mr. Lewis, "our society treats our coal miners."

Aristotle and the Celtic chieftain agreed that ingratitude and lack of solicitude on the part of those who should care, deserved indignation. Lewis let the government know what he thought of its lack of concern for the lives of the men he championed. He

castigated also "the first families of the land" for their shameful lack of *noblesse oblige*: "Our best families kill them: the Rockefellers, the Hannas, the Franceses," said Mr. Lewis. "... And so does the Union and Pacific kill men of which Mr. Averell Harriman, Secretary of Commerce, is head ... they [Union Pacific] still follow the box car economy of housing employees in box cars all along the line." Furthermore, "one hundred and forty men lie under the mountain since 1903 and the Union and Pacific never thought it of sufficient importance to retrieve their bodies and return them to their families for proper burial."

Lewis called upon a wide range of subjects for his comparisons. Many of his figures are similes and metaphors; some are hackneyed; all have color. "The miner," said Lewis, "is like a wounded bull in a Mexican bull ring." The American populace "cheers the courts to bait and wound the American coal miner." Government is a "muscle man" for coal operators. J. A. Krug is a "great modern Hercules with a number twelve shoe and a number five hat," a "scheming politician." Miners are "butchered" in the "Krug slaughterhouses." Operators are "feudal barons." Modern America is "an industrial machine which grinds up human flesh and bones."

Allusions and sentence structures in the style of the King James Bible gave Lewis's oratory an evangelical ring. "For the miners," he said, "there is no balm in Gilead." Speaking of some small advances in mine safety, Lewis quotes Touchstone: "It is a poor thing," he said, "but it is our own." "The politician flees," said Mr. Lewis, "Mr. Krug flees, whenever one pursueth" and Congressmen "know not whereof they speak."

Sharpest contradiction in the Caucus Chamber came from Representatives Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan and O. C. Fisher of Texas. A point came up concerning Mr. Lewis's failure to make use of a safety clause which allowed him to withdraw men from dangerous mines. "You said the miners were intimidated," said Mr. Hoffman, "were you intimidated?" "Yes," said Mr. Lewis, grinning ironically. "I'm easily intimidated. If you don't think the Supreme Court can intimidate a man, try it some time." The spectators laughed. Representative Fisher asked Mr. Lewis if he "were sure about" a fact. "Just sure enough," growled Mr. Lewis, "to look you in the eye and say it." There was a stir among the spectators.

PUBLIC REACTION

For the most part, the public beyond the caucus room reacted to Mr. Lewis's testimony in a prosaic way.

Continued on page 29

THE LIGHT TOUCH OF C. NORTHCOTE PARKINSON

17

What is the aim of the "light touch" speech? To amuse and entertain, of course. But is there a larger objective? That, naturally, would depend on the speech. The best light touch speeches have more than mere amusement as their objective. They are persuasive—with that kind of persuasion which is concerned more with energizing truth than it is with discovering it. For the latter, of course, much more than humor is needed.

But even the former—the light touch talk energizing truth—has a skein of seriousness running through it that, with its aid, manages two things at once. The serious thread acts as a foil for the humor itself, lending it impact. And, by this juxtaposition of serious point to the supporting humorous anecdote, it brings forth the serious theme—it energizes a certain kind of truth in fine—and it thus accomplishes this in a much more effective manner than a serious development by itself might have done.

Very few Americans are adept at this sort of speech-making which utilizes irony, satire, and even sarcasm in order to vivify the truth. Mark Twain was one; Artemus Ward another. It is more likely, however, that this type of truth is better delineated by some one with the wry humor of a Britisher, than by one with the broad bombast of some Americans.

C. Northcote Parkinson, Professor of History at the University of Malaya, now visiting lecturer at the University of California, and the author of three books dealing with Parkinson's Law, is such a Britisher. He it is who manages to accomplish this two-fold and difficult task of utilizing both serious theme and amusing anecdote in the interests of persuasion with some *eclat*. Not completely, mind you, but with a modicum of skill.

Mr. Parkinson has become so enamoured with his ideas, that in the interests of justice and truth (and Parkinson's Law), he has been conducting an extensive lecture tour, propounding at every step this (to

him) latest of economic theories. In a recent appearance at Los Angeles State College (April 8, 1960), the stocky, almost chubby epitome of John Bull, dressed in a dark two-button single-breasted suit tightly buttoned over his ample middle, blandly and mock seriously announced at the opening of the proceedings in the State Theater: "I am the discoverer of Parkinson's Law." This was hardly anything new since Mr. Parkinson had been getting a good deal of publicity lately as a result of his writings, and especially of his latest publication, *The Law and the Profits*. Not only that but campus placards for some time had been announcing that he would speak on:

PARKINSON'S LAW
PARKINSON'S LAW
PARKINSON'S LAW
PARKINSON'S LAW
ETC., ETC., ETC.
ETC., ETC.
ETC.

Nonetheless there was purpose behind this initial statement, since as its discoverer it put him into the same category—as he modestly put it in his slightly nasal and typically British voice—"with Archimedes and other discoverers." He was not merely an inventor, one can readily see, but a *discoverer*. At this a chuckle of merriment, the precursor of many such, rippled through the appreciative audience.

The announcement of the discovery set the pattern for what was to follow. Standing with shoulders thrown back, legs spread, hands clutched to the rear, his broad bald dome shining into the audience, his large, almost oversize nose protruding over the lectern, Parkinson continued his talk by relating his military experiences. As anecdote followed upon anecdote, each one somewhat broader and more implicative than the other, he rapidly moved from the theater of war to the battle of the campus. It soon became apparent that he was about to make his first main point, based upon this

latter experience, namely that the function of college "administrators was to make work for each other." That is, "everywhere but upon this campus," he hastened to add, an impish gleam lighting his eye.

It was this experience, Parkinson explained, that made him write the essay to which he appended his name, and in this unpretentious fashion was discovered "Parkinson's Law" which brought him a widespread reputation.

As Parkinson began developing his second point, in the same inductive-implicative manner, he warmed to the task. The erect form began to move; the static arms began to gesture; the somewhat phlegmatic visage began to liven, only a little, however, since for maximum effect, most of the humor, although obviously tongue-in-cheek, was completely dead-pan.

18

THE ADMINISTRATOR'S WORK

As his "Law" aroused comment, Parkinson continued, he was encouraged to do more research into administrative practices. Here another earth shaking discovery was made. The nature of the administrator's work was of two kinds: the morning consisted of pushing papers around—from one basket to another—while the afternoon was comprised of committee meetings. This kind of *reductio ad absurdum*, comic in character that it was, of necessity led to an analysis of the work of a college finance committee. After a short but succinct description of the method used in allocating to one department (physics), a nuclear reactor costing several million dollars, came a lengthy and quite witty explication of the process used in denying a blackboard worth some thirty dollars, more or less, to another department (English). This led inevitably to another point—a subsidiary one this time, albeit based on the ubiquitous Parkinson's Law—namely that "Time taken [by a committee] on any item is in inverse proportion to that item's economic value."

At this, the house—which was full and very receptive by this time—howled and applauded. Parkinson's manipulation of stories, humorous sallies and asides—as well as his recourse to hyperbole—all, however, delivered in the manner of understatement, were having their proper entertaining effect.

It was at this juncture that Parkinson varied the development of the talk. Whereas earlier he moved from specific to generalization in an almost implicative manner, but all supporting aspects of his dictum, he now announced the next point as "How to Get Rid of Your Boss." As a topic this was somewhat less related to his celebrated ordinate than were the two

previous ones. He then proceeded to offer injunctions and examples—somewhat less effective, however—in behalf of the chosen topic.

Then came the concluding series of stories, again under a general rubric, this time announced simply as "The Cocktail Party." These series of instances were even less germane to the Parkinson canon than the one dealing with the "boss," and seemed to have been brought in more for humor's sake alone, than to support that skein of seriousness which had been his objective heretofore. Moreover, here, too, he succeeded in his first aim, if not in the second. At the conclusion of this series Parkinson smiled visibly for the first time, bowed stiffly from his capacious middle, and slowly, so very slowly, sauntered into the wings.

What can one say of this performance? That it was exemplary from the humorous view goes without saying. That he offered fresh insights into the proliferating pyramids of our society is harder to say. Not that a good deal of what he said was untrue, but rather that most of it was already well known. The satirical approach, however, pointed up the material in a devastating fashion, making much of it almost believable, thus to some degree energizing truth as he saw it. Certainly our daily living amply illustrates the Second Parkinson Law, that expenditures, in household or government, for example, always rise to meet income. This is a truism that every college professor is not only aware of, but also has to grapple with. It does not necessarily follow, however (which by implication seemed to be the corollary), that if income is reduced then expenditures will also as easily fall. As with so many "laws" of this calibre, this one too is oversimplified and although it contains a modicum of truth, it is a far cry from a complete one.

One of the virtues of a serious address is that it may contain—in a succinct form—the seminal ideas of a speaker's philosophy. As such it may delineate, sometimes in a lucid manner, the salient characteristics of a personal ideology. The humorous talk, on occasion, may also accomplish this objective; here, however, the speaker needs to be careful that he is not swayed by his own wit, and thus emphasize immediate humorous audience response to the detriment of evoking serious audience cogitation about his ideas.

This latter C. Northcote Parkinson did not accomplish. Seduced by his own charm, he focused on only one aspect of the light touch speech, the aspect of amusement, while at the same time neglecting the more serious one, that of energizing truth. As such, then, the talk was far from the complete success that C. Northcote Parkinson probably hoped that it might have been.

STUDY-DISCUSSION: EDUCATION TAILORED TO ADULTS

"I look forward to this as my most enjoyable recreation of the week." "It's wonderful to be able to talk seriously about politics without someone getting angry." "I've never before been able to discuss religious beliefs so thoroughly." "You know, I came here thinking all this modern art was strange. Now—well, I just bought a painting." "Why don't more people get in this program? If they only knew what they're missing!"

The speakers were not referring to some new sport, a weekly western, or even a lecture program designed for the "arty" set. These people were voicing their reactions to the *study-discussion* courses in which they had been enrolled.

The liberal arts study-discussion program has its antecedents in the lyceum, the Bible class, the town meeting, the Great Books Program, and even in our tendency to talk about whatever interests us. *Study-discussion* refers to a rapidly expanding type of adult education which seems cut to fit the shape of adult abilities, needs, and tastes in liberal studies. It aims at individual growth through exposure to the culture known as the humanities, arts, and social sciences.

DISCUSSION IN PROGRESS

The time is 7:50 P.M., Tuesday evening, late fall. Gene Racknow and Helen Sellers, co-leaders of a study-discussion group in "American Foreign Policy," have just arrived at the Odd Fellows Hall where their group meets. They chat over their plans for the evening while arranging chairs, checking ash trays, and greeting the members who have begun to arrive. The discussants greet each other with pleasantries about the weather and inquiries about family members. However, such small talk soon changes to comments about readings, what the President said in his last news conference, and recommendations for collateral reading. This is no group of laggardly schoolboys trailing their books in the dust. The talk is exuberant, like that of scholars with a mutual interest, or graduate students before the opening of a favorite seminar.

At 8:05 Gene Racknow suggests that the discussion get under way. Following prefatory remarks about the topic, readings, and plan for the evening, he asks, "What do you feel is the main problem facing the United States in Latin America?" A bald man in a brown suit responds: "Judging from Halle's article and the popular support with which Castro started, I'd say it's the development of democratic governments, getting rid of the dictators." To this a woman seated to his left replies, "I wonder. Right now it seems to me we've got to first get rid of Communistic control in Latin America. If we don't, we may soon find H-bombs aimed at us from Cuba or some other Latin country." The manager of a furniture store asks, "Do we have any evidence to indicate that much strength in the Communists' thrust in Latin America? I doubt that they'll get a foothold in countries other than Cuba. Why, on my trip through Mexico and Brazil, I found that . . ." At this point Helen Sellers, the other appointed leader, brings the group back to their readings with a question: "We may be getting afield in conjecture. What did Acheson have to say about . . . ?"

On it goes, with each of the fourteen discussants adding his opinions, questioning, supplying bits of information, or perhaps providing the relief of humor while the hands of the clock twirl. At 9:50 Gene reminds his group of the hour: "We've got only ten minutes left. I wonder if we left out any question you wanted to talk about?" This brings up the tenth issue of the evening: "How might President Kennedy's latest proposal for the O. A. S. modify the Monroe Doctrine?" One member of the group provides a sort of inadvertent summary by running over all the new ideas he got during the meeting, and then thanks the group. This stimulates a burst of general congratulations, laughter, and socializing which subsides for a moment while the leader describes the next set of readings and urges all to examine them with extra care. Then the members resume talking for a few minutes, mostly about how well the discussion went tonight. Such talk undoes most of the friction engendered dur-

ing the give-and-take of a lively interchange.

The group begins to disband. Persons stand talking in threes and fours while putting on their coats, then drift off. Some will continue to talk about relations with Latin America while enjoying a cup of coffee. One young woman goes home to spend two hours talking about the evening discussion with her husband. Silent during most of the meeting, she now speaks with ease. He, more than likely, will join this group if they take up another course. The co-leaders remain an extra minute to replace the chairs while they agree on a time and place for planning their next session. Then they leave to join one of the coffee groups.

Looking back over the evening, we observers are impressed by the excited tone pervading the meeting and the depth with which many of the questions raised were explored without undue exertion from the leaders. Not for an instant did these people seem to be bored or merely "making talk" to preclude an awkward silence.

THE DISCUSSANTS

The people whom we have been observing are all residents of a small town in north-central Pennsylvania. They might just as easily have been from Philadelphia, Harrisburg, a village, or any part of the state in which about sixty other study-discussion groups are meeting, with a total membership of about one thousand.

All walks of life, ages, and backgrounds can be found represented in these groups. Most frequently one will encounter professional men and housewives, in early middle age, with somewhat more than average formal education, people who are active in community affairs and are long-term residents of the area. Bankers, bakers, clergymen, dietitians, dentists, editors, engineers, housewives, managers, postal employees, teachers, secretaries—these are only part of the occupations represented in the few groups known personally to me. In age, the discussants range from twenty-one to the eighties, but over seventy per cent fall in 30-50 range. Educationally, about fifty-five per cent have baccalaureate degrees. One in four or five has no formal education beyond high school.

LEADERSHIP

Leadership of the study-discussion programs could be discussed at many levels. Here we will examine two: the sponsoring agency and the individual leader of a specific group.

In Pennsylvania the study-discussion program is under the aegis of the Center for Continuing Liberal Education. This agency is a part of the Continuing Education arm of the College of the Liberal Arts, The

Pennsylvania State University. Supported by the Ford Foundation, the members of the Center for Continuing Liberal Education work in conjunction with local coordinators and district representatives of the University. These latter persons have had the help of sundry local organizations including newspapers, alumni councils, industries, libraries, Jewish Community Centers, churches, Commonwealth Campuses, and education councils. Other universities in other states sponsor similar programs, for the most part using the same courses.

Local lay leadership is probably the most important component in the successful study-discussion course. The leaders described earlier in this article are modelled from actual persons, one an editorial writer, the other a housewife during most of the day. Other leaders who came under the ken of the writer included an internationally famed engineer, a research physiologist, a postal clerk, professional managers, an attorney, a teacher, housewives, an accountant, a personnel manager, an insurance salesman, a painter, and a secretary.

All of these persons were volunteers. Few have ever been in charge of a classroom. Only one could be called an authority in the subject-matter of the course he led. For the most part the leaders find a reward in the sense of service and the exhilaration which comes from successfully rising to a challenge. Many were asked to become leaders by an officer of a sponsoring agency. Others were originally drafted into a leader training program because of their position in some organization such as an alumni council.

Each leader is given a concentrated period of training lasting about fourteen hours. In company with ten to thirty other prospective leaders he explores the functions and the responsibilities of the study-discussion leader as a sort of procedural and intellectual housekeeper for a group. As he tries his hand at leading such discussions, he receives suggestions from fellow trainees and an experienced trainer.

Leading such a group takes time—probably six hours per week on the average, not counting the training and possible background reading. Self-restraint, careful evaluating, and flexible planning are required for success. A toughness of spirit is developed while enduring the floundering of a group which is getting oriented. But there are compensations of the mind, perhaps a spontaneous burst of applause at a final meeting, and occasionally a token gift.

VARIETY OF COURSES

The number and variety of courses prepared for study-discussion have increased rapidly in the last three years so that now virtually anyone can find something

to his liking. Most of the courses require ten two-hour meetings, with variations from eight to eleven. In each course from one to several books are supplied to every participant. In addition, several courses include recordings, films, charts, and other supplementary materials.

For the literary taste there are courses in "Discovering Modern Poetry," "Modern Fiction," and "Great Modern Short Stories." In the arts one can take "Looking at Modern Painting," "Design at Work," "Prints and Printmaking," or "Attending the Theatre." In the general humanities area one might study an "Introduction to the Humanities" or "The Responsible Man." Theoretical social science comes to one in "The Ways of Mankind," "World Politics," "American Democracy," "American Foreign Policy," "Economic Reasoning," "Great Issues in American Politics," "Great Issues in Education," "The Power to Govern," or "Russian Foreign Policy." Even closer to everyday affairs are such courses as "Aging in Today's Society," "Everyone His Own Historian," "Exploring Religious Ideas," "Our Community," and "Parenthood in a Free Nation." And these are not all.

IS IT EDUCATION?

One may be skeptical about an "educational" enterprise which has no teacher or expert present with the students. A question often raised in various garbs is, "But is this education?" If by "education" the query refers to increased knowledge in some area, changes in attitudes and skills, and perhaps the restructuring of some habits, the answer must be a decided "Yes." In my opinion the average participant accomplishes far more "education" in twenty hours of study-discussion than in the forty-five hours of most college courses. A study by Richard Hill found that members of such groups learned more of the concepts of anthropology than did persons given the same readings but who attended lectures on the topics (all lecturers were noted anthropologists).¹ Other studies by Kaplan,² the National Opinion Research Center,³ and Hadlock⁴ have

¹ Richard J. Hill, *The Ways of Mankind Study* (White Plains, N. Y.: The Fund for Adult Education, 1959, mimeo).

² Abbott Kaplan, *A Study of the Liberal Arts Discussion Program for Adults in the Metropolitan-Los Angeles Area* (White Plains, N. Y.: The Fund for Adult Education, 1959, dittoed).

³ James A. Davis, Lathrop Vickery Beale, and Ruth Ursual Gebhard, *The Great Books Program, A National Survey* (White Plains, N. Y.: The Fund for Adult Education, 1959, mimeo).

⁴ Alton Parker Hadlock, "A Study of the Development of Critical Thinking Through Adult Discussion Groups" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1958).

shown significant learning outcomes. In discussing why the study-discussion process produced more mastery of basic concepts of anthropology than did a study-lecture process, Hill suggested that the repetition and mulling over from many points of view which occurs in a learning discussion may be more valuable to the motivated learner than is exposure to an expert who talks.

One must not forget that the "authorities" are present in the readings. This is the "study" component of study-discussion. The meetings are not bull sessions or gatherings to "talk things over." Rather, the participants talk over a set of statements selected from outstanding writers on some major topic. For example, while preparing for a discussion on "The Struggle for the Underdeveloped Countries" the participant in the course will read selections from Harry S. Truman, Stringfellow Barr, G. F. Hudson, Peter Drucker, Nicolai Koestner, Barbara Ward, Raymond Cartier, and Dwight D. Eisenhower.

In addition to readings, many of the groups avail themselves of a visiting "resource person" from one to three times during the course. This subject expert is usually plied with the accumulated questions that the readings and discussion did not satisfactorily answer. He also serves as a gauge against which discussants test their opinions.

Members quite commonly report on supplementary reading which they have done on their own initiative. From listening to the groups one gets the impression that many members do a considerable amount of reading to understand further the issues raised in the texts. This reading in itself may be an important indicator of an educational outcome.

Perhaps the most important signs of education are the remarks of participants. "I used to think things political were black or white. Now I see shades of gray, but no clear whites or blacks." "You know, I never really learned to read a poem before." "How different those paintings look now that I can see them." "For the first time I've begun to question seriously some aspects of our way of life."

Certainly one can point to no one best means of education. But, for adults who are interested enough to enroll in a course, study-discussion seems to provide a way of making excellent use of limited resources in trained personnel. They learn, and they seem to like it.

All who have meditated on the art of governing mankind have been convinced that the fate of empires depends on the education of youth.
—ARISTOTLE

THE PREACHER AND HIS VOCAL EQUIPMENT

22

"The first duty of a man," said Robert Louis Stevenson, "is to speak, that is his chief business in the world."

If this is true of man in general, it is pre-eminently so of the clergyman. The preacher's chief business in the world is to mold the spiritual life of the world—largely through speech. He enters his pulpit Sunday after Sunday on the assumption that he can help save the world by talk. He assumes that he can guide people to live the Abundant Life and to nurture their children in the Christian way of life by talking to them. He proceeds on the belief, expressed or taken for granted, that he can direct thoughts, change ideas, and shape character by talking to people.

So that in a very real sense the coming of the Kingdom depends upon the kind of speech with which the leaders of the Kingdom are equipped. The ultimate value to the Kingdom of God of a preacher's theological preparation hinges on his ability to transmit vocally the fruits of that preparation. "Of what good is an idea without a voice?" It is like having a hundred-watt lamp in a dark room but no outlet in which to plug it. Of what value to a preacher is a thorough knowledge of Old Testament and Church History, of Theology and Social Ethics, or of any of the other important and necessary intellectual disciplines of a theological course, if he does not have an adequately trained speech mechanism with which to *communicate* such knowledge to his people?

A preacher may have such extensive knowledge as to confound the masses; he may possess such inclusive erudition as to astonish the very Elect, but without effective speech it profiteth him nothing. He may grasp all knowledge, and understand all languages, and comprehend all history; he may possess such an accumulation of factual information as to remove all mountains of ignorance, but without a proper vocal mechanism with which to transmit such knowledge to others he becomes "sounding brass or clanging cymbal." A nail is an important item in building a house only if you have a hammer with which to drive it.

GOOD SPEECH FOR THE MINISTRY

It is not necessary to dwell on the *need* for speech training in the ministry; it is a palpable, urgent need which a visit to any average church on any average Sunday will cogently confirm. A more pertinent point of discussion is the *how* of the thing. What is "good speech" for the ministry? Who is the minister who has adequate vocal equipment?

If in attempting to answer such questions I am forced by the limitations of space to be brief, I do not mean to leave the impression that speaking effectively—in the ministry or elsewhere—is an easy, simple matter. On the contrary, it is one of the most complicated types of neuromuscular activity, necessitating specific training and making definite demands upon one's thought, voice, and bodily movements. It is the difficult art of harmonizing and coordinating the languages of words, tone, and action; of training the voice and body to be accurate expressive agents of the mind. All three languages must say the same thing at the same time if oral communication is to be adequate and appropriate.

For example, the preacher who utters Isaiah's great words of assurance, "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength," with downcast eyes and drooping shoulders and with a whining voice that ends the statement in a circumflex, indecisive inflection is not likely to arouse confidence or inspire assurance in his listeners. He is much more likely to do so if he pronounces the statement with a firm voice, in a moderately slow tempo, and with a vocal melody that concludes the statement with a straight downward inflection (making sure that even though the end of the sentence is given on a lower pitch the voice does not fade away or drop off at the end of the sentence); this coupled with a stance of bodily alertness. The body and the voice are the mirror of the mind. In oral communication the only way the mind has of getting itself objectified is through the languages of tone (including inflection) and bodily movement.

Therefore, voice and body must be trained to reveal the *true* intent of the mind. Otherwise the fundamental languages will be in contradiction and the congregation in confusion. Lack of coordination between the three languages often results in the preacher actually disagreeing with himself—declaring one thing with the verbal language and contradicting it with the languages of inflection and gesture. A threadbare and somewhat extreme, but still a helpful, illustration of this is the case of the preacher who pointed heavenward as he shouted, "When the roll is called up yonder," and with great vehemence pointed in the opposite direction as he concluded, "I'll be there!"

I know a minister who, in a sincere effort to appear what he calls "spiritual," makes statements to his people of deep conviction and great truths in an apologetic, "weepy" voice and with downcast eyes and folded hands, and then wonders why they are not more moved to accept the truths and to act upon the convictions which he presents. I also know a minister who, in an equally sincere effort to appear concerned about and convicted of the truth he is proclaiming, roars at his congregation in an arrogant, this-is-the-Almighty-speaking type of voice, accompanied by an egotistical, too aggressive posture that says, "I'll cram this down your throat and you take it and like it." And he cannot understand why he does not get a greater response to his preaching. A third minister of my acquaintance delivers his sermons in such a subdued, unanimated, insouciant, "dead-pannish" fashion that he actually generates apathy in his listeners.

Good speech is the proper synchronization of mind, body, and voice. The three must work together to reveal simultaneously the intent of the speaker. It sounds simple but it requires a higher degree of concentration and neuromuscular coordination than any other human activity. No one is born with the ability to speak. If Robinson Crusoe had been left alone on his island when an infant and suckled, say, by a wolf, like Romulus and Remus, granting his survival, he would not have been able to speak to his man Friday when he finally met him. And if, as an infant, he had been discovered by Chinese and reared in their home, he would have spoken Chinese rather than the King's English. Speech is an acquired skill, and those who make the most effective use of it are those who deliberately train themselves to do so.

We are concerned primarily in this paper, as its title indicates, with the physiological process of the production of the sounds of human speech. However, since mind and voice are inseparable and since some people, including many preachers, take the position that good speech is purely a matter of a "beautiful"

voice skillfully manipulated, it should be made clear that "good speech" requires not only certain minimum *vocal skills* but definite *mental abilities* as well. And the last must come first. So that the preacher who speaks effectively—that is, who vocally and visually presents ideas in such a way as to secure some degree of obvious response and definite commitment to his ideas—will first of all have *something worthwhile to say*.

Many preachers seem to think that the mere act of donning clerical robes or entering a pulpit gives them the right to stop thinking. Others seem to assume that once they can put a divinity degree after their name they can cease their careful reading and diligent study. Such men run dry after a few years in the ministry. No matter how beautiful their voices or how skillfully they can use them, they become mediocre preachers. Good speech, in the ministry as elsewhere, is a matter of the *whole man*, especially his mind. (One of the physiological indications of idiocy is incoherent speech.) Good speech is something more than beauty of sound or correctness of pronunciation, although it includes these two things.

In a sense good speech is the man himself. It is not a "mere facile accomplishment to be learned casually and worn like a garment"; it is a product of genuine cerebration. One reason many preachers cannot speak effectively in public is that they do not think genuinely in private. Any man who is to exercise leadership in the pulpit must have something with which to lead. He must have something worthwhile to say; he must have ideas, background, associations, convictions. There is no such thing as saying *nothing* effectively. "The unluckiest insolvent in the world," says Christopher Morley, "is the man whose expenditure of speech is too great for his income of ideas." If one is to develop effectiveness in speaking, he must first of all set about the long slow business of making himself *worth listening to*. He must keep himself mentally, emotionally, and physically alert and sensitive.

MINIMUM SKILLS

No amount of training in the proper use of the voice and body can make an effective speaker of a man who is lacking in mental ability or intellectual discipline. The Chinese proverb contains genuine insight: "You cannot carve rotten wood." But there is also wisdom in the statement that neither can sound wood be carved without proper tools. Something worthwhile to say, therefore, is only the first requisite of good preaching, not a guarantee of it. All effective preachers have something worthwhile to say, but not every preacher who has something worthwhile to say is an effective preacher. Consequently, the preacher whose vocal

training is adequate for the serious and complicated business of talking effectively will have at least the following minimum skills.

For one thing, he will say his worthwhile something so that it is easily heard by everyone in the audience; he will speak with adequate audibility. Many excellent ideas are lost because the speaker "muttered them into his beard" or "drops them into the well." I saw a letter from a pulpit committee which rejected a candidate with these decisive words: "Mr. _____ will not do; we could not hear what he said." A preacher's first responsibility to his congregation is to speak so that he can be heard without strain. If he does not measure up to this responsibility, he is wasting his time and that of his listeners no matter how worthwhile his ideas.

24

This does not mean, however, that he must shout. Mere loudness does not give a voice carrying power. Many preachers exhaust themselves, annoy and alienate their hearers, and ruin their voices by shouting to be heard. Yet their shouting fails, where a quiet but intensive tone, properly supported by correct breathing and combined with clear-cut, well-formed consonants and full, firm vowels would easily penetrate.

An interest in his subject and in his hearers great enough and compelling enough to manifest itself in vocal and physical animation as he speaks, knowledge of the relation of proper breathing and relaxation of throat to tone support and projection, and a strong desire to communicate will enable any preacher with normal vocal equipment and an average amount of patience to speak so everyone can hear him.

CLARITY OF SPEECH

Audibility is not enough; in addition there must be intelligibility. Not only is good preaching easily heard; it is clearly understood. Such clarity involves three major factors: exactness of thinking, precision of articulation and vocalization, and correct pronunciation.

As already indicated, the effective preacher is a clear thinker. He knows what he wants to say and says it in a simple, straightforward manner. "Because he is clear in his own thinking, he never confuses his listeners by inconsistent statements, irrelevant material, long and involved sentences, or through the misuse of words." *

But clarity of thinking alone will not produce acceptable intelligibility any more than a gasoline motor will produce power without gasoline. An equally important factor in intelligibility is precision of the production of the speech sounds. A preacher may have his sermon clearly thought out, logically arranged, and movingly worded. But if he delivers it with slurred vowels and

indistinct, muffled, half-swallowed consonants, or in a weak, breathy, or harsh tone; if he attempts to talk with a rigid jaw or through set teeth or with slovenly, incomplete articulation, his clarity of thinking will count for little. Those words which a congregation do not hear because of lack of audibility, or which having heard they misunderstand because of lack of intelligibility, psychologically have not been spoken. In consequence, communication does not occur. The preacher must learn to breathe properly, to articulate distinctly, to vocalize completely, and to pronounce correctly. The preacher who is adequately trained vocally will not only have something worthwhile to say, and say it so that it is easily heard—he will also say it so that those who hear it easily can understand it clearly without having to guess at its meaning from the context.

PLEASANT TO HEAR

But he will not stop there. He will go on to say his something that is worth saying so that it is *pleasant to hear*. That is, he will say it with the *proper vocal and tonal quality*. A London cinema theater displayed to the public a sign which read, "You may safely bring the children as no American voices will be heard." Integrity forces the admission that the average American voice is not an unadulterated thing of beauty, calculated to make listening comfortable and persuasion easy.

If, as we have said, the first responsibility of the preacher to his congregation is to speak so that they can hear without strain, his second duty to them is to speak without offending their sensibilities. The whining, droning, monotonous voice, or the "spiritual," saccharine, "Holy Joe" voice which many preachers use not only is a source of embarrassment for many listeners (especially until such time as through Christian fortitude they learn to steel themselves to listen in spite of it), but more importantly such a voice is an actual barrier to the oral communication of the Gospel and discourages positive response to its truths.

The preacher who is properly trained vocally is one whose voice is agreeably pitched, adequately strong, and rich and pleasant in quality; he does not shout at his hearers in a high, thin, strident voice nor mutter at them in a nasal, throaty, muffled one. He commands their attention by using a *proper* vocal and tonal quality which is under his complete control so that he speaks with ease and interest, and with an expression that is in accord with the demands of the varied and constantly changing moods and emotions underlying the ideas he is seeking to communicate. Some one has sententiously put it this way: "That which is unpleasant to the ear is not likely to gain ready ad-

Continued on page 29

* Lee Norvelle, *The Will to Speak Effectively* (Expression Company, Boston, p. 15).

CONVERSATION AS A KEY TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN NATURE*

In *The Human Use of Human Beings*, an essay on Cybernetics and Society, Norbert Wiener concludes that, "To live effectively is to live with adequate information. Thus, communication and control belong to the essence of man's inner life, even as they belong to his life in society." Herein are the two aspects of conversation that have been noted in preceding articles of this series: speech as the chief normative force which shapes and helps fulfill the essential personality of each individual; and speech as the essential process through which society was organized and now exists.

Because of the centrality of speech influence in all phases of individual and social living, many diverse kinds of thinkers have been impelled to focus their thinking upon it. Charles Horton Cooley, for example, in the late 1880's, commenced graduate study at the University of Michigan in the department of economics. Oddly enough his doctoral dissertation, entitled "The Theory of Transportation," converted him into a student of speech influences in social organization. This occurred when he noted that cities develop at points where transportation is interrupted: at rivers and ocean ports, where goods must be unloaded from one mode of transport to be reloaded into another.

It occurred to him that the same principle applies to ideas: new theories, philosophical systems, germinal ideas develop when the flow of normal thought encounters an impassable barrier, and the thinking has to be "unloaded" into new forms of symbolic expression. He went on to write several notable books on the theme that: "The imaginations which people have of one another are the solid facts of society." From his observation that individuals truly fulfill themselves only through social interaction, like the harmonized instruments in an orchestra, he evolved his widely influential theories of role-taking, the reflected looking-glass self, and imagery.

Influenced by the suggestive power of Cooley's concepts, George Herbert Mead, the social psychologist, and John Dewey, the educator, developed in their separate ways a theory of speech-centered social behaviorism. Mead wrote *Mind, Self, and Society* around the theme that when the tendency to speak affects the speaker in the same way as it affects the auditor, and thereby dictates the precise form the "vocal gesture" will assume, genuine communication becomes possible. "Behavioristically," Mead wrote, "this is to say that the biologic individual must be able to call out in himself the response his gesture calls out in the other, and then utilize this response of the other for the control of his own further conduct."

Dewey, for his part, denounced "the false psychology of an isolated self," and developed a theory of ethics as the expression by each individual of the approved culture patterns of his social group. Both Mead and Dewey postulated personality as consisting of two aspects: the dynamic, environment-changing, progressive "I"; and the plastic, environment-dominated, conservative "me"—both essential elements of every individual. From these basic concepts have flowed many of the refinements of current thinking about the nature of man and of society.

In brief, no one exists by himself, but each is a dynamic formative influence and each also is a passive reflection of the social group to which he belongs. The inward flow of information determines what an individual thinks, what he feels, what he does—*what he is*. The outward flow of information from an individual affects the nature of his hearers while at the same time the pattern of his expression is fixing the mold of his own character.

What will be said and the manner of saying it will be determined by the speaker's interpretation of the precise nature of these inter-relationships: by what he thinks of others, by what he thinks they are thinking of him, and by what he thinks they think he is thinking

* This article is the fourth and final in Dr. Oliver's series on conversation. This inquiry is culminating in a book, *Your Conversation: The Philosophy of Good Talk*, to be published soon by the W. C. Thomas Company.

of them and of himself. Accordingly, speech influence is directed in both directions, inward and outward; it arises from the very root sources of social intercourse; and it determines both the nature of the individual (his extrinsic personality as well as his intrinsic mind) and, cumulatively, of the society in which he exists.

KEYS TO THE NATURE OF SPEECH

26 Reflecting these theories, Robert M. Estrich and Hans Sperber, presenting a refreshing and stimulating approach to the study of language in *Three Keys to Language* (1952), wrote: "Language, a function growing out of life, reflecting every phase and aspect of life, and influencing life, cannot be treated independently of the realities it represents." Accordingly, they stressed the linguistic "connections with such neighboring disciplines as the history of culture, of religion, political history, sociology, and psychology." The three keys which they found most useful for unlocking the hidden nature of speech communication were anthropology, sociology, and psychology.

Their efforts, and those of some few other "new grammarians" (notable among whom has been Robert Pooley, at the University of Wisconsin), in a sense represent a fruition of the challenge laid down forty years ago by Otto Jespersen, who wrote in his *The Philosophy of Grammar* that, "The essence of language is human activity—activity on the part of one individual to make himself understood by another, and activity on the part of that other to understand what was in the mind of the first. These two individuals, the producer and the recipient of language, or as we may more conveniently call them, the speaker and the hearer, and their relations to one another, should never be lost sight of if we want to understand the nature of language and that part of language which is dealt with in grammar."

It is not suggested that these views, or this mode of approach to the study of language, is strikingly new; but only that systematic social research and formulation of guiding principles have in recent years evolved out of it a realization expressed only in glimmerings in earlier times. "Speak that I may know you," wrote Ben Jonson, "for speech most shows the man," thus approaching one of the thresholds of the new inquiry into speech influence. "Speech is morning to the mind," wrote the seventeenth century dramatist, Nathaniel Lee; and Shelley carried onward this thought when he said of the Divine that, "He gave man speech and speech created mind." Thomas Huxley extended this concept yet a bit further with his conclusion that, "For

evil as well as good, words make us the human beings we actually are."

Hans Vaihinger touched upon another aspect of speech in his theory of fictions, in *The Philosophy of As If*, when he wrote: "The whole world of ideas is an instrument to enable us to orient ourselves in the real world, but it is not a copy of the real world." And Alfred North Whitehead approached the nub of the communicative problem when he declared, "Men require of their neighbors something sufficiently akin to be understood, something sufficiently different to provoke attention, and something great enough to command admiration."

THE NEED TO CONCEAL

These various needs are satisfied not always by speech that approaches as closely as possible to the ideal of absolute communicability. *There is also a deep need for overt indication to our associates that much which lies within defies adequate expression, or for one reason or another is too private to be wholly revealed.*

This fact must be one of the reasons for the widespread prevalence of lies—many of which seem to have little relevance to the presumed need for escaping censure or punishment. Sometimes the need for concealment of full meaning is felt by the speaker to be as acute in the listener as in himself: hence the lengthy list of euphemisms for death, and the many substitute terms for such unpleasant events as illness, failure, and war. Other instances of the deliberate intent to avoid full communication are the widespread uses of exaggeration, understatement, verbal wit, ambiguity, rationalization, "loaded words," archaisms, foreign terms, technical jargon, slang, neologisms, metaphor and simile, invective, conundrums, riddles, puns, hints, and the ancient oracles. Political discourses, love-language, and the language of mysticism are all, for their several reasons, often deliberately obscure.

What we must conclude is that conversation and other modes of speech are far from existing solely to express man's inner need for self-revelation, or for the social need of understanding and being understood. At least in part, we speak also to maintain bonds of social relationship that will provide contact with our fellows but not bind us to them. We utter strange nothings as we pass one another on the street, neither knowing nor caring what objective meanings the words may convey. We simply enjoy the process of signalling awareness of one another's presence—meanwhile taking care to hold these casual associates at arm's length to avoid an unwanted intimacy.

Continued on page 28

ADVICE TO PARLIAMENTARIANS

General Henry Martyn Robert thought of a "skilled parliamentarian" as any member of an organization who knows and practices correct procedures in the conduct of business meetings. Neither his codified *Rules of Order* nor his textbook for students of *Parliamentary Practice* mentions the parliamentarian as an expert interpreter of parliamentary law. Since Robert's day, a gradual change has occurred. In current practice, the parliamentarian has become a special individual in both voluntary and governmental bodies. This officer is now the authority on parliamentary procedure and "adviser to the presiding officer." Indeed, Alice Sturgis points out in her *Standard Code* that some organizations hire "a paid technical adviser acting in a capacity similar to that of an attorney." Even our federal Congress, composed of *law-makers*, finds it necessary to appoint parliamentarians "to assist in rendering correct parliamentary decisions and to keep the practices and precedents uniform."

The modern mania for specialization is having an influence on the contemporary concept of the parliamentarian. We are no longer content that he be a passive participant; we expect him to anticipate difficult parliamentary situations and to offer advice to the chairman on his own initiative. Perhaps the ultimate role of the parliamentarian as a technician will be that of presiding officer during all phases of business meetings which involve parliamentary activity. In the November, 1960, issue of *TODAY'S SPEECH*, Ray Keesey proposed that the chairman abdicate his traditional duty to preside in favor of an objective specialist. In this view, the parliamentarian would "preside . . . as the personal representative of the president" and assume "the role of a clerk or technician for the closer observance of parliamentary rules." The president would perform only "ceremonial" functions.

It is not my purpose to deplore this apparent trend. But I do suggest that the increasing dependence of members and chairman on the professional parliamentarian underscores his responsibilities to the group he serves. He should scrupulously avoid the two common

pitfalls of his craft. Besides, the parliamentary specialist should perform his functions with due regard for two positive principles. These four minimum essentials include awareness of:

I. THE PRIESTHOOD OF PARLIAMENTARIANS

As popular reliance on the skill of the professional parliamentarian increases, so popular understanding of parliamentary law diminishes. The natural result of this human proportion is the rise of a special class of experts who are ordained to proclaim and reveal the mysteries of parliamentary procedure. In some organizations, only lawyers and speech teachers (especially of academic courses in parliamentary practice) are considered as competent candidates for this new priesthood.

In many groups, the parliamentarian is regarded as the object of admiration and awe, if not reverence. The average member is the true believer in the dogma of parliamentary infallibility. "Who am I to dispute the ruling of one who is so familiar with the intricacies of parliamentary law?" seems to be the basis of this feeling. The mere presence of the parliamentarian can be a symbol of law and order. On one occasion, the writer was requested to be present at the annual meeting of a church congregation. "If I announce that I have appointed you to be parliamentarian, we'll avoid our usual wrangling," pled the president of the congregation. "Be sure to bring along your copy of *Robert's Rules of Order*," he added; "they wouldn't dare to question your judgment with the 'bible' in your hand!"

II. THE TEMPTATION TO "PLAY GOD"

A second occupational hazard of the parliamentarian may follow from his sacrosanct position. I have known parliamentarians who could not resist the heady opportunity for power which is theirs for the asking.

A municipal judge was invited to speak following the monthly luncheon meeting of a women's organization.

"I'll never make that mistake again," he insisted. "They had reached a parliamentary impasse over the question of whether ex-officio members of the group could take part in discussion, although they could not vote. When the argument on the question was obviously becoming hopelessly bogged down in technicalities, the chairman looked in my direction with an imploring expression. In that moment of weakness, I assumed my most impressive judicial air and announced that ex-officio members *could* voice their opinions. That seemed to settle the question." Happily, the judge did not compound his unwise intervention. He had the good sense not to display his knowledge in a lengthy lecture.

28

III. THE PRINCIPLE OF LEGISLATIVE INTENT

Parliamentarians are often called on to interpret the meaning of standing rules of organizations and of motions passed in their business meetings. The need for clarification may appear for any of several reasons. The provisions of a set of by-laws may be essentially inconsistent. The wording of an incidental motion affecting procedure may be complicated or vague. Or, a regulation adopted by the group may be unduly restrictive in its practical application.

The faculty of a state university adopted a rule which provided that "only those matters which are listed on the printed agenda for a meeting" could be discussed or acted on at a session of the faculty. But this faculty also had a regulation which allowed complete freedom of discussion during "committee of the whole" periods within the time limit of a meeting. The inevitable question then arose: could an agreement reached by consensus during the time of informal consideration be formally ratified during the remaining portion of the regular meeting? When called on to comment, the

parliamentarian advised the president that the obvious original intention of the faculty had been to protect the rights of members who might be absent. Because of this basic purpose in adopting the rule of a limited agenda, it would be unfair to allow a motion to be presented for formal debate which had not been previously announced in advance of the meeting.

In making his interpretation, the parliamentarian took into account the common understanding which had prevailed at the time when the rule had been adopted. Thus, the faculty parliamentarian had simply followed the sound precedent of the courts in basing decisions on the principle of legislative intent.

IV. THE PRINCIPLE OF FUNCTION OVER FORM

The second positive principle for the guidance of parliamentarians concerns the realistic purpose of parliamentary law. The goal of an assembly is not to practice strict adherence to prescribed rules. Rather, parliamentary procedure is a necessary means to the end of expediting the transaction of business. If this were not so, the parliamentarian would be simply a scorekeeper for a forensic game of skill in the manipulation of parliamentary ground rules.

Never advise a "stricter procedure than the size of the group, degree of controversy, and knowledge of the rules in the group require," cautioned Joseph F. O'Brien in *Parliamentary Law for the Layman*. O'Brien's warning stresses the primacy of parliamentary function over parliamentary form. It is a clear call for the wisdom, tact, and humility which are the social responsibilities of the expert parliamentarian.

CONVERSATION AS A KEY TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN NATURE

Continued from page 26

Often this awareness is friendly, but sometimes hostile. Indeed, the "feeling tone" of the degree of friendliness or hostility imbedded in any form of speech is perhaps the most fundamental meaning it conveys. We are shyly, wistfully, frankly, or aggressively aware (as our personalities or the situation may dictate) of the regard for ourselves as a person indicated in the nature of the talk we hear, whatever else it may be intended to express. Similarly, because we know the subtle variants in our own speech, we are more alert than we may be consciously aware to note cues that may indicate additional meanings the speaker is trying to conceal. *To describe talk solely as a process of seeking to be understood is to miss many of its influential characteristics.*

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TODAY'S SPEECH

THE PREACHER AND HIS VOCAL EQUIPMENT

Continued from page 24

mittance to the mind." Even good ideas need the help of a pleasing voice. The adequately trained minister is pleasant to hear.

PROPER BODILY ACTION

Furthermore, the preacher who is effective in his delivery will say what he has to say that is worth saying so that it is *pleasant to see*. Which is to say that he will use *proper bodily action*. He will keep his body under control and make it serve as a medium through which he expresses his ideas more effectively. He will so coordinate his gestures with his thinking that they do not become mere ornamentations or a cause of distraction, but a means of emphasizing and complementing the ideas which he expresses in words. His language of action will reinforce his verbal language.

I asked one of my classes what they thought of a certain noted preacher who spoke at the chapel service at the University. "He was excellent," came the reply, "as long as you did not look at him." It is a proven law of psychology that an audience tends subconsciously to take on the muscle tensions of the speaker. Empathically they enter into his bodily movements, so that if he gazes off into space or up at the ceiling or preaches to his toes the vital circuit of directness of audience contact is broken and the audience tends to drift off the communication course like a ship losing its bearings because its navigator has ceased to function properly. If the preacher goes through certain physical contortions—as some preachers unfortunately still do—the congregation tends to suffer vicariously. In many sermons *what is said* loses much of its value because of *how it is said* pantomimically. The language of action distracts from the language of words, so that one cannot *hear* what is being said for *seeing* what is being said. "The manner of speaking," said Lord Chesterfield, "is full as important as the matter." Delivery that draws attention to the process rather than to the product is not good delivery. Acceptable speech is pleasant to see.

The president of a well-known seminary once said to me: "Speech is so important in training for the ministry that I believe it is more desirable to deliver a second-class message in a first-class way than a first-class message in a second-class way."

If one must make a choice in the matter, so do I. The ideal, of course, is to deliver a first-class message in a first-class way. And there is no reason why any man who is willing to pay the price cannot achieve that

ideal, even though there is no *easy* road to being an effective minister of the unsearchable riches of God.

Any preacher who is worthy of the high calling of being God's mouthpiece, and who expects to fulfill successfully "his chief business in the world," will surely set as his minimum speech goals: (1) to have always something worthwhile to say, (2) to say it so that it will be audible and intelligible to everyone in the audience, (3) to say it with a pleasant voice quality on an agreeable pitch level at a rate that will help to emphasize his ideas, and (4) to reinforce it with proper bodily action and gestures.

JOHN L. LEWIS:

THE ORATORY OF PITY AND INDIGNATION 29

Continued from page 16

John Battle of the National Coal Association saw Lewis's memorial as a "grandstand play . . . all to no purpose except to cater to Mr. Lewis's delusion of grandeur." John Bartlow Martin reported a moving story of Centralia, but thought Lewis used the disaster "only as a club in his personal feud with Secretary Krug, not as a weapon in the broad battle for mine safety." After the hearings had ended, *The Nation* announced: "Lewis, still champ." "A great actor . . . never happy . . . and the memorial halt is a new way to strike . . .," *Time* thought. "The nation should mourn," said *The Christian Century*, "and make its miners safe." A miner in an interview with *Fortune* believed that "John L. earned his twenty-five thousand dollars a year salary." The conservative *U. S. News & World Report* called the Lewis mine safety case a "union weapon." *The United Mine Workers Journal* applauded its President for "his simple language of the street." *The Journal* said, "Lewis shot the works and held the Subcommittee spellbound."

And what did the miners think of their chief's oratory? In the June, 1960, issue of *Harper's*, Paul Pickrel related that he once talked with a miner who had heard John L. speak at a meeting. "The miner," Pickrel said, "enjoyed every minute of the oratory and was immensely proud to have a spokesman who handled language more thrillingly than he could."

Since 1947 the miners have received most of the benefits for which their chieftain battled. And so after a long term and almost a lifetime of publicity, the eighty-year-old John Lewellyn Lewis resigned his office in 1960. Grateful miners paid tribute to their president who spoke better than they did. In fact, even John Lewellyn's enemies admitted that he handled the oratory of pity and indignation as skillfully as the ancient Cuchulain handled the thorn stick.

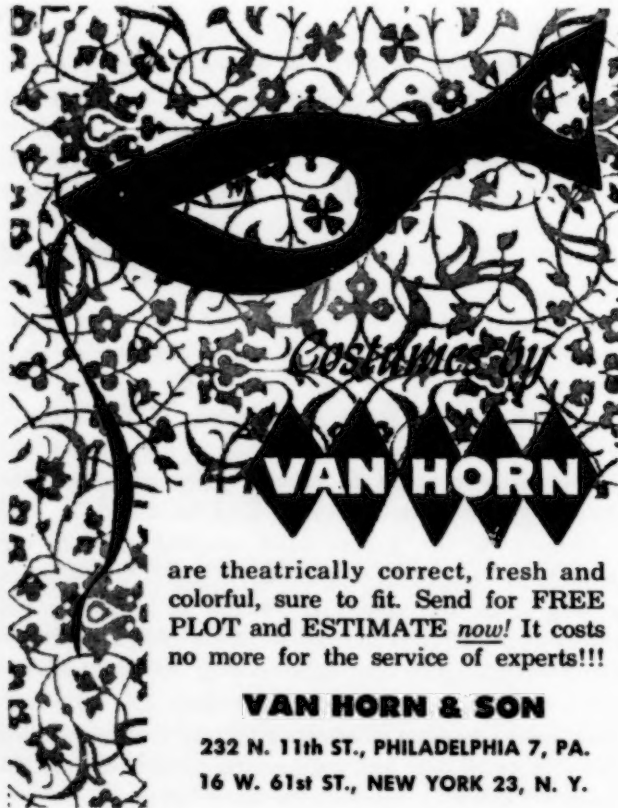
CARLOS P. ROMULO, ORATOR

Continued from page 3

speech at the War College. But let us look for a moment at the skill he displayed in arranging the Bataan Day dinner.

Romulo, educated in the processes of democratic government, knew that he had to create public opinion in favor of aid to the Philippines if he were to get Congress to act. He must let the American people know the situation. But how? With the exception of a three inch story in the *New York Times*, the American press ignored the crisis. He had to get his story into the American newspapers. He seized upon the Bataan Day dinner as his opportunity. Two thousand invitations were issued to all the important people in Washington. More than 200 Congressmen, 54 Senators, 7 Justices of the Supreme Court, several Cabinet members, all the top echelon of the State Department, and the other executive departments, the White House advisers, and special assistants were present. It was just the assembly that could serve as a sounding board from which would radiate an important message to all America. All the wire services carried his speech. Herb Gordon, writing in a Washington paper on April 14, 1956, said, "A gem of a

30



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public relations job was done here in Washington by the Philippines the other day and it is the talk of the town. Diplomatic, official, and newspaper circles are still talking about it."

This is the first installment of Dr. Crocker's article. The November issue will carry the final installment.

Friendship is almost always the union of a part of one mind with a part of another; people are friends in spots.

—GEORGE SANTAYANA

KHRUSHCHEV: CONSISTENT OR CONTRADICTIONARY?

Continued from page 11

Fundamentally, Khrushchev is delivering the same speech today that he gave in early 1959, and before. Current developments, immediate audiences, the internal conditions of the Soviet Union cause variations in the major themes and these are the factors which satisfy the appetite of the reporters and commentators and veil the pattern which is there. At the risk of underrating the significance of these day-to-day comments which constitute the news, it should become apparent that the best way for the Free World to resist the effects of these apparently vacillating Soviet actions is to focus attention on the underlying philosophies. Let it be said that the Free World refuses to be led into chaos through hasty interpretation of intermittent, "news-making" Soviet policies, but analyzes the competition on the basis of its broad teachings considered in perspective and reacts in accord with its own values and heritage.

TODAY'S SPEECH

THINKING AND SPEAKING ABOUT CAUSES

Continued from page 14

ing out that in the years that man has been measuring the thickness of the ice cap over the Arctic Ocean, it is now thinner than it has been at any time since measurements of the cap began. Again, a necessary consequence of this link adds to the plausibility of the theory. Link number three gains strength because it is known that 11,000 years ago, rain fell in most of the deserts of the world, making them grasslands so that even the Sahara could support animal life in something like an abundance. Some of the other consequences used to confirm the theory are that it is known that the snows that cover northern North America, northern Europe and northern Asia are ancient in origin, and that very little fresh snow has fallen in these areas in recent centuries. In addition, it is clear that the oceans have suddenly become warm as is indicated by pink layers of tiny warm-water animals deep within the ocean floor, as one would expect if the Arctic became a warm ocean, and that about 11,000 years ago the oceans entered their present cool cycle.

Such evidence is not completely safe. For example,

if the oceans did become warm 11,000 years ago, nothing in that fact indicates that some other cause, such as an increase in radiation from the sun, might not have produced the effect. Just as with all kinds of evidence, particularly in affairs which we discuss and debate, our results are only probable. The method of consequences, however, can provide us with an educated guess that will often help us reduce the number of errors we make and contribute significantly to search for certainty.

This is the first of two articles. The final installment will appear in the November issue.

WHAT TO LOOK FOR IN NOVEMBER

Continued from inside front cover

George Street does a service to the hard-of-hearing in his article "Consider the Listener."

For those interested in parliamentary procedure Robert English's "The Five Basic Steps of Democratic Action" is recommended.

Other articles are Part II of Lionel Crocker's "Carlos P. Romulo, Orator" and of Otis M. Walter's "Thinking and Speaking about Causes."

Harry P. Kerr has some suggestions for the 1964 presidential candidates in his "The Great Debates in a New Prospective."

31

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THINKING AND SPEAKING

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Robert L. Scott, University of Minnesota

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—Glenn R. Capp, Southern Speech Journal

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BOOK REVIEWS

32

Lee, Irving J. and Lee, Laura L., *Handling Barriers in Communication*. Harper and Brothers, 49 East 33 Street, New York 16, New York. 1957, \$5. Paper.

The last major work of Dr. Lee was this book, a training course for supervisors. For anyone, layman or professional, who teaches a course in conference or discussion this book is invaluable. Lecturers will find it replete with illustrative materials that will make speeches about communication sparkle. General readers may find themselves in the book among those who "jump to conclusions" or who "listen only to words."

Auer, J. Jeffery, *An Introduction to Research in Speech*. Harper and Brothers, 49 East 33 Street, New York 16, New York. 1959, \$5.

While designed to help the speech researcher this book will be useful to those interested in related fields. The abler undergraduate with a term paper to write will find it useful, the graduate student required reading, and the professor will keep it beside his dictionary and other reference books to be used constantly.

Brown, Charles T., *Introduction to Speech*. Houghton Mifflin Company, 432 Park Avenue South, New York 16, New York. 1955.

Professor Brown's book is designed to introduce the readers to the basic fundamentals of the field of speech and speaking. Clever cartoons, accurate drawings, and suggestions for study will make it useful to the reader looking for instruction. High school teachers who want a text for classes of superior students will welcome it.

Uris, Dorothy, *Everybody's Book of Better Speaking*. David McKay Company, Inc., 119 West 40 Street, New York 18, New York. 1960, \$4.95.

Mrs. Uris writes from the viewpoint of her career as an actress and speech teacher to whom the use of the voice is of utmost importance. Those who read the book to learn how to speak more proficiently will read rapidly to learn all of the interesting ideas which the author describes. The suggestions for practice will take the reader back many times to seek guidance.

Braden, Waldo W., *Speech Methods and Resources: A Textbook for the Teacher of Speech*. Harper and Brothers, 49 East 33 Street, New York 16, New York. 1961, \$6.50.

Professor Braden has written four of the twenty chapters of his new book, and has co-authored a fifth. The other 15 chapters have been written by highly skilled, veteran speech teachers. All teachers of speech will find the book's contents invaluable.

Marra, Waldo J., *How to Streamline Your Letters*. National Retail Credit Association, 375 Jackson Avenue, St. Louis 30, Missouri. Multilithed, paper.

This is a practical book which offers advice in Part I on how to use letters as sales representatives. Part II gives much helpful advice on grammar, punctuation, and spelling.

Windes, Russell R. and Kruger, Arthur N., *Championship Debating*. J. Weston Walch, Box 1075, Portland, Maine. 1961; paper cover, \$3.50; plastic cover, \$4.50.

This is primarily the transcripts of nine intercollegiate debates for the annual West Point tournament championship, with a critique of each year's debate. It is intended as a supplement to textbooks on argument, and as such should be useful. The introductory chapters are also valuable for their pungent discussion of competitive debating, the nature of argument, and critical standards for the evaluation of debate.—R.P.N.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Ogilvie, Mabel, *Teaching Speech in the High School*. Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York. 1961, 434 pages.

Dickens, Milton and McBath, James H., *Guidebook for Speech Practice*. Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., New York. 1961, paper, 163 pages, \$1.95.

Mersand, Joseph E. (Ed.) Three Volumes of dramas of the National Theatre and Academy Series, containing three plays each. Washington Square Press, Inc., New York. 1961, \$.60 each.

Kozelka, Paul, *Fifteen American One-Act Plays* (ANTA Series). Washington Square Press, Inc., New York. 1961, \$.60.

Services, Sales and Swaps

All advertisements offered for insertion are subject to the approval of the Advertising Manager, and must be in accordance with the general character of the magazine. Either goods or services may be offered for cash or trade. Rates for single insertions are \$.50 a line or \$2.50 per inch payable in advance. Discounts are allowed for multiple insertions. Mail addressed to box numbers will be forwarded to advertisers. Send checks with advertising copy to John R. Lowry, Advertising Manager, TODAY'S SPEECH, 1116 Cathedral of Learning, Pittsburgh 13, Pa.

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WANTED: Charles Kendall Adams' *Representative British Orations* (either the 3 vol. 1884 set or the 4 vol. 1900 set); Papers on Rhetoric, *Eastern Public Speaking Conference*, 1940. H. Harding, ed., *Studies in Honor of Alexander Drummond*, Cornell University Press, 1944, *Studies in Honor of James A. Winans*, Century Press, 1925. St 617

FOR SALE: Superior Fir and Scotch Pine Christmas trees. They also make excellent food for Japanese beetles, which we can supply if you need them. St 618

VOLUME 9, NUMBER 3, SEPTEMBER 1961

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Walker's Comprehensive Concordance to the Holy Scriptures (King James). St 619

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Our Readers Write

Editor:

... Considering that speech is a field that I have never investigated very closely, I found the articles quite interesting. I did not digest, of course, but I browsed liberally . . .

I want to be on record as hoping that sooner or later you will have letters "to the editor" as a feature of TODAY'S SPEECH. Whether it is today's *Evening Bulletin*, or the *SEP*, or *Life*, or *Newsweek*, or a departmental publication, I simply must see what reactions people have to articles and stories . . .

34

Although the professionals in the field of speech are apparently concerned primarily with the science or art of speaking to groups, which may presuppose some mastery of distinctness in speech, may I raise my minority voice representing the hard of hearing? I firmly believe that not one American in ten speaks the English language with enunciation that would rate even "fair." I could blame my faulty hearing if it were not for the delightful few whose words come to me so clearly.

We oldsters are increasing rapidly as a percentage of the population, and the hard of hearing are also increasing. Please sell your people on the constant need for bearing down on our slovenly speech . . .

George T. Street, Jr.
Philadelphia

OUR READERS WRITE is our answer to the first request in Mr. Street's welcome letter. What suggestions have our readers in satisfying the second?

EDITOR

* * * * *

Editor:

Thank you so much for your letter . . . and the copy of TODAY'S SPEECH, which I found very interesting reading. I am pleased that you would like an article from me to be published in your magazine, but I must refuse at this time. I am having a great deal of difficulty in spacing time to do writing contracted for and to keep up with other activities to which I am committed, ANTA's work and my obligations as a councillor for Equity. There is literally not a moment to spare . . .

Peggy Wood
New York City

Miss Wood, famous actress and president of ANTA, will be remembered by many of our readers for her television role of Mama in I Remember Mama. She

was featured luncheon speaker at last spring's SAES convention. Because she said so many important things about speech we asked her to write them for our readers.

EDITOR

* * * * *

Editor:

Many of the teachers who are doing speech correction in the public schools of New Jersey . . . feel that too much emphasis is given the high school needs.

We teachers who are working with children with speech problems under the New Jersey Handicapped Program would like more help . . . One of our main problems is the stutterer . . .

Dorothy M. Goodman
Trenton

Parents, teachers, or therapists who have ideas on this subject are invited to submit manuscripts. EDITOR

* * * * *

Editor:

... After looking over the interesting articles in the current issue, I got to wondering about the cost of a group subscription for my classes . . .

I feel strongly that one of the best ways to introduce students to a magazine is to put a copy in their hands. I also feel that many of these articles are more interesting . . . than much of the text material . . .

Walter F. Stromer
Cornell College, Iowa

The one year (4 issues) subscription rate for students is \$1.50. Orders for 10 or more must be sent with check by the instructor. Copies will be mailed to students' addresses. EDITOR

* * * * *

Editor:

An example of unwarranted rhetorical criticism can be found in Charles L. Marlin's article* in the April, 1961, issue of TODAY'S SPEECH. This article contains an evaluation of the answers given by President Eisenhower at three press conferences (March 17, March 31, and April 28, 1960). Rather than trying to maintain any objectivity at all Mr. Marlin sets out to prove his thesis that the logical and grammatical difficulties, of which we are all aware, found in Eisenhower's answers do not communicate meaning and spring from disturbed reasoning processes. Even though this thesis is pushed very hard, a careful examination of the article in question shows that all Mr. Marlin succeeds in proving is that his own objectivity as a rhetorical critic must be questioned.

First, through the process of careful word counts Mr. Marlin gives us a real feeling for the texture of Eisenhower's impromptu answers. The passive char-

* "Eisenhower Before the Press."

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MODERN DEBATE: Its Logic and Strategy

35

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ESSENTIALS OF GENERAL SPEECH,

New Second Edition

By A. CRAIG BAIRD, *State University of Iowa*, and FRANKLIN H. KNOWER, *The Ohio State University*. *McGraw-Hill Series in Speech*. 242 pages, \$3.95

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acter of his most commonly used verbs and the quality of non-specificity of his nouns and relative pronouns are clearly established. Eisenhower's use of common language rather than the elevated speech which one might expect of a President and some tendency toward excess verbiage are shown. This last tendency is somewhat clouded by Mr. Marlin's example of a seventy-four word answer which is almost immediately condensed to nineteen words by a reporter. While a possible case can be made for the fact that both statements contain the same, basic, denotative message, the reading of both statements clearly shows that they are not the same in regard to connotative, implied meanings.

Second, three quotations are given and followed by questions in regard to what exactly Eisenhower meant by each statement. In each case it must be admitted that due primarily to faulty pronoun reference the objective reader has some trouble understanding exactly what is meant. However, the statements have been taken out of context without even any clear indication of the nature of the question to which the quotations are replies. If one returns to the original transcripts of the press conferences in question as reported in the *New York Times*, the obscure meanings are usually made clearer. In the first case it is clear that the President meant that some progress should be made in the disarmament talks with the U.S.S.R. before we worry about including Red China in those discussions. In the second case the President was referring to the difference between Federal enforcement of constitutional guarantees and personal acceptance of and action based upon those guarantees. In the third case it is clear that the President believed that while the central issue in regard to Berlin probably could not be resolved, many of the peripheral problems could be solved with

a corresponding decrease in tensions. Finally, Mr. Marlin's own case of the seventy-four word statement which is almost immediately reduced to nineteen indicates again that in spite of the clear structural weaknesses which exist in these answers President Eisenhower did communicate his meaning to his audience.

In regard to Eisenhower's reasoning processes Mr. Marlin asserts at the outset of his study that "this faulty and inarticulate expression in effect means faulty and inarticulate reasoning." While no support whatever is provided for this original assertion, it is nevertheless pursued throughout the article as if it were a proven fact. The leap from the examples used to this assertion seems, in fact, to represent a classic example of *post hoc*, assumed cause, reasoning. However, this case is not a pure case of *post hoc* reasoning since no evidence is presented of any prior condition of faulty reasoning which could be assumed to be the cause of the structural difficulties in Eisenhower's impromptu answers. Thus, rather than *post hoc* reasoning this argument must be classified as a *non sequitur*. It might be more valid to assume that the President's thought processes were so advanced and complex that the process of verbalization hindered his thoughts rather than the thoughts hindering the verbalization as Mr. Marlin has assumed. However, even this conclusion treads on the dangerous ground of reasoning by analogy. While the article does give the reader a feeling for the texture of President Eisenhower's impromptu press conference remarks, it at the same time clearly illustrates the difficulties which result from the failure to maintain objectivity in a critical-evaluative study of a contemporary speaker.

Peter E. Kane
Purdue University

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Perspective

The future for speech and hearing pathology is challenging and exciting—the range of study will increase; the patterns of diagnosis will change; the programs of therapy will make more direct use of new information. Assistance to the many speech and hearing handicapped will increase in scope and depth.

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At the present time we recognize, first of all, that speech pathology and audiology have many resources such as medicine, education, psychology, physics and biology. Secondly, the individual with a communication problem is seen as an entity and his needs are diversified; his responses reflect his needs. As a result, diagnostic procedures have become more involved, often requiring the services of several specialties. Therapy has become, therefore, a much more complicated process in which communication disorders cannot be treated without attention to related problems. With focus on the whole individual, rehabilitative procedures have become more intensive and extensive.

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The drills provided are arranged in cumulative form in order that the pupil may be prevented from repeating incorrectly sounds which he has not yet learned to articulate properly while practicing habit formative drills on a particular sound. In addition, non-cumulative drills are provided for use with pupils having difficulty in the production of only one particular sound.

The drills are presented without exception in the form of motivated games and devices. The game and device approach not only stimulates interest, but also provides a more nearly normal speech situation in that the pupil is not required to think alone of the mechanics of the articulating process, but is confronted as well with the necessity for doing some original thinking in the playing of the games. In this way, the motivated devices provided assist in bridging the gap between formal repetition of speech exercises and the carry-over into spontaneous speaking.

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by Elizabeth M. Nemoy

The classroom teacher will find in this book long needed help in aiding the child to grow in the power to express his thoughts adequately in oral form.

Mrs. Nemoy, as teacher of Speech Correction in the Philadelphia Public Schools, and co-author of *The Correction of Defective Consonant Sounds*, has given outstanding service as regular classroom teacher, in teacher training in Speech Correction, and in assisting the elementary and secondary teacher in finding means of improving speech in the regular classroom through group instruction. The simple, practical nature of the materials and approaches presented in this book are the results of this rich background of experience.

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The author provides in this book corrective procedures as ear-training, conscious imitation of sound, classification through analogy, and contrast of one sound with another. The Sound-Stories contain original jingles as an integral part of the story—stories which also give corrective procedures and a classification of speech sounds which shows their major characteristics. An analytic description of the sound will be found in a section preceding each story.

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